### IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

STATE OF NEW YORK, et al.,	
Plaintiffs,	
v.	18-CV-2921 (JMF)
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, et al.,	
Defendants.	
NEW YORK IMMIGRATION COALITION, et. al.,	
Plaintiffs,	
v.	18-CV-5025 (JMF) (Consolidated Case)
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, et. al.,	
Defendants.	

### NOTICE OF FILING OF DEPOSITION DESIGNATIONS FOR EARL COMSTOCK

Plaintiffs hereby file with the Court the synopsis of deposition excerpts for Earl Comstock (Exhibit 1), and the deposition excerpts for Earl Comstock that will be offered as substantive evidence (Exhibit 2).

#### Respectfully submitted,

By: <u>/s/ Dale Ho</u>

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Attorneys for the State of New York Plaintiffs

#### Summary: Earl Comstock (August 30, 2018)

Earl Comstock has no education, training or experience in voting rights law, redistricting, or election law. Tr. 14-15; 192-194. He started working at the Commerce Department on January 31, 2017. His current title is Deputy Chief of Staff and Director of Policy, and he reports to Secretary Ross. Tr. 33-40. No one from the Commerce Department was more involved than Comstock in the citizenship question. 340-341.

Comstock first heard about the possibility of adding a citizenship question to the Census from Secretary Ross shortly after the Secretary was confirmed in February 2017. Tr. 54-55. Comstock testified that Ross was interested in adding the citizenship question to the 2020 census. Tr. 137-146 and Ex. 9. By late July 2017, Comstock had been working on the citizenship question for months. Tr. 209-210. In March 2017, Ross asked Comstock whether noncitizens are counted for apportionment purposes. Tr. 62-66, 68, 78-82, 205-209 & Ex 2. Comstock testified that adding the citizenship question is a good idea to determine "how many undocumented citizens there are." Tr. 262-264. Comstock did not review any materials in concluding that the citizenship question should be added, though he conducted an internet search to find out if other countries ask about citizenship on their censuses. Tr. 104, 109-110.

Comstock testified that did not know why Secretary Ross wanted to add the citizenship question to the Census, never had a discussion with the Secretary about why he wanted it added, and did not need that information in order to respond to Secretary Ross's request to get the question added to the Census. Comstock Tr. 105, 112-113, 253-268, 285-287. Comstock believed his job was to find a rationale for adding the citizenship question. Tr. 266. Comstock reached out to DOJ, which referred him to DHS. DHS declined to request the citizenship question. This was reported to Ross, who then reached out directly to Attorney General Jeff Sessions about the citizenship question. Tr. 166-186, 213-218, 221-223, 269-273, 275-277, 277-285, 297, 337, 347-348, and Exs. 13-15, 19-24 and 27. In spring 2017, Ross was frustrated that there was no request for citizenship question yet on the Census. Tr. 196-197. AG Sessions agreed to look into the citizenship matter. Tr. 233 and Ex. 15.

Comstock did not discuss the citizenship question with people in DOJ's Voting Section. Tr. 409-412. He is not aware of any Voting Rights Act cases DOJ declined to bring because of the lack of block-level CVAP data. Tr. 416. DOJ was not informed of the Census Bureau's recommendation to use administrative records to satisfy their request. Tr. 419-422. The Commerce Department did not send DOJ the Census Bureau analyses of their request. Tr. 422-425.

Comstock and James Uthmeier were the principal drafters of Ross's March 2018 decision memorandum. Tr. 242-243 and Ex. 30. The first draft of the June 21, 2018 supplemental memo came from DOJ. Tr. 94-97, 99, 100-102, 247-248 and Ex. 5. He does not know who the officials referenced in the memorandum are. Tr. 111-114 and Ex. 5. Comstock agrees that the Census Bureau never revised or withdrew their analysis as stated in the Abowd memo. Tr. 309-323. Comstock drafted the portion of the decision memo about Alternative D. Tr. 429-432 and Ex 30. He thought Alternative D made sense given his own experience and Ross's intelligence. Tr. 433-434. Comstock was the primary assembler of the 35 questions that went to the Census Bureau. Tr. 369-372 and Ex. 31.

	Page 1
1	UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
2	SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK
3	
	NEW YORK IMMIGRATION COALITION, ET AL.,
4	
	Plaintiffs,
5	vs. Case No. 1:18-CF-05025-JMF
6	UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, ET AL.,
7	Defendants.
8	
9	Washington, D.C.
10	Thursday, August 30, 2018
11	Deposition of:
12	EARL COMSTOCK
13	called for oral examination by counsel for
14	Plaintiffs, pursuant to notice, at the office of
15	Arnold & Porter, 601 Massachusetts Avenue NW,
16	Washington, D.C., before KAREN LYNN JORGENSON,
17	RPR, CSR, CCR of Capital Reporting Company,
18	beginning at 9:08 a.m., when were present on
19	behalf of the respective parties:
20	
21	
22	

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	EARL COMSTOCK					9
3	Examination by M	r.	Colar	igelo		9
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	Examination by M					381
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3	Plaintiffs'	Exhibit	28	Memo	3 0 9
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4	Plaintiffs'	Exhibit	3 0	Decisional	3 2 6
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				draft Census	
8				memo	
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9	Plaintiffs'	Exhibit	3 5	Trump campaign	3 8 3
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A P P E A R A N C E S

On behalf of New York Immigration Coalition, CASA De Maryland, American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, ADC Research

Institute and Make the Road New York:

David Gersch, Esquire ARNOLD & PORTER

4

### REDACTED

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22

On behalf of Kravitz Plaintiffs:

Daniel Grant, Esquire COVINGTON & BURLING

## REDACTED

On behalf of Los Angeles Unified School District:
Brian Park, Esquire (Telephonically)
DANNIS WOLIVER KELLEY

### REDACTED

On behalf of County of Los Angeles:
David I. Holtzman, Esquire
HOLLAND & KNIGHT

### REDACTED

Page 5 On behalf of LUPE Plaintiffs: Andrea Senteno, Esquire 2 MALDEF REDACTED 3 4 5 Niyati Shah, Esquire John C. Yang, Esquire 6 ASIAN AMERICANS ADVANCING Justice 7 REDACTED 9 10 Ezra Rosenberg, Esquire 11 Dorian Spence, Esquire LAWYERS COMMITTEE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS UNDER LAW 12 REDACTED 13 14 15 On behalf of State of California: Gabrielle Boutin, Esquire 16 R. Matthew Wise, Esquire (Telephonically) DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE 17 OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL 18 REDACTED 19 20 21 22

Page 6 On behalf of State of New York: 1 Danielle Fidler, Esquire Elena Goldstein, Esquire Matthew Colangelo, Esquire Alex Finkelstein, Esquire ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION BUREAU 4 REDACTED 7 8 On behalf of Defendants: Kate Bailey, Esquire 9 Joshua Gardner, Esquire U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE 10 REDACTED 11 12 13 Michael Cannon, Esquire David M.S. Dewhirst, Esquire 14 U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT GENERAL COUNSEL FOR FINANCE & 15 LITIGATION 16 REDACTED 17 18 19 Michael Walsh, Jr., Esquire 20 DEPUTY GENERAL COUNSEL REDACTED 21 22

				Page 7	
1	VIDEOGRAPHER:	Dan	Reidy		
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2 2					

Page 8

#### PROCEEDINGS

WHEREUPON,

2.

2.1

VIDEOGRAPHER: Good morning. We are going on the record at 9:01 a.m. on Thursday,
August 30, 2018. Please note that the microphones are sensitive and may pick up whispering, private conversations and cellular interference. Please turn off all cell phones or place them away from the microphones, as that can interfere with the deposition audio. Audio and video recording will continue to take place unless all parties agree to going off the record.

This is Media Unit 1 of the video recorded deposition of Earl Comstock to be taken by counsel for the plaintiff in the matter of the New York Immigration Coalition, et al., v. The United States Department of Commerce, et al. This case is filed in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York. This deposition is being held at the law office of Arnold & Porter located a 601 Massachusetts Avenue Northwest, Washington, D.C. 20001.

Page 9

My name is Dan Reidy from the firm

Veritext Legal Solutions, and I am the

videographer. The court reporter is Karen

Jorgenson from Veritext Legal Solutions.

I am not authorized to administer an oath. I am not related to any party in this action, nor am I financially interested in the outcome.

Also, counsel appearances will be noted on the stenographic report rather than orally at this time.

Will the court reporter please swear in the witness? Global objection 401/403

EARL COMSTOCK,

called as a witness, and having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

THE WITNESS: I do.

# REDACTED

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19

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2.1

Page 14 REDACTED 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 course that covers demography. 17 Okay. Do you have any education, 18 training or experience in voting rights law? 19 20 A No. Do you have any education training or 21 22 experience in redistricting?

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Page 15
            No.
1
2
        0
            Do you have any education, training or
    experience in election law?
3
            Again, other than as an attorney and the
4
5
    ability to read laws, no.
            Okay. By as an attorney and the ability
6
    to read laws, you mean if you needed to read a
7
    law, you could?
8
            Meaning if I had read a statute related
9
10
    to those, then I would be able to understand it,
11
    yes.
            But you've never studied election law?
12
13
            I've never studied election law.
            You've never practiced election law?
14
        0
15
        A
            No.
16
    REDACTED
17
18
19
20
2.1
22
```

Veritext Legal Solutions

2.1

2.1

Veritext Legal Solutions

2.1

Page 33 1 REDACTED 2 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 When did you become the director of 12 13 policy? 14 On January 31st --15 January 31st. 16 -- 2017. The -- was January 31, 2017 your first 17 day in the office at the Commerce Department? 18 19 Yes. If I'm recalling correctly, that 20 that was Monday, yes. It was the 30th or 31st. 21 It was whatever the Monday was at the end of 22 January.

Page 35 REDACTED 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 Okay. You mentioned that your title is 12 deputy chief of staff and director of policy. 13 14 When did you became deputy chief of 15 staff? In April of this year. 16 17 O So from January 30, 2017 until April 2018, you were director of policy? 18 19 A Correct. 20 Is director of policy a position within 21 the Office of the Secretary? 22 A Yes.

```
Page 36
            And is that the same as director of
1
        0
2
    policy and strategic planning?
           Correct.
3
        A
           Who do you report to?
4
5
           The Secretary.
           Directly to the Secretary?
6
        0
           Well, and to the chief of staff and to
7
        A
    the deputy secretary.
8
            Okay. Was there a chief of staff on
9
10
    January 30, 2017?
11
        A
            There was not.
            Okay. So until there was a chief of
12
13
    staff, who would you say you reported to?
14
            Well, until the Secretary came on board,
15
    sort of no one.
16
    REDACTED
17
18
19
20
2.1
22
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Veritext Legal Solutions

2.1

Page 40 REDACTED So you mentioned you work on whatever the 3 4 Secretary wants you to work on? Correct. 5 How does he identify matters that he 6 wants you to work on? 7 He says, Earl, can you get this done? Or 8 9 we attend this meeting, and he says, can you 10 follow up on that? 11 And how do you keep the Secretary 12 informed about what you are doing on important 13 matters or on assignments that he's given you? By email, by oral briefing, and sometimes 14 15 by memos. How do you decide whether you're going to 16 update Secretary Ross by email, by briefing or by 17 18 memo? Just depends on the time frame, the speed 19 REDACTED 20 of which I need to get something to him, 2.1 REDACTED 22

Page 46 1 REDACTED 2 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 You mentioned that the individuals in the 13 policy office monitor specific areas; is that 14 15 right? 16 Correct. Do you have somebody assigned to monitor 17 the Census Bureau? 18 19 Yes. 20 Who is that? 21 A David Langdon. 22 O And what is David Langdon's background?

Page 47 He is in the Economic & Statistics Administration and knows -- knows the people down there, knows how to get stuff done, so --REDACTED 2.1 

Page 54 REDACTED 1 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 When did you first hear about the notion 16 of adding a question about citizenship to the 17 decennial census? 18 Sometime in -- shortly after the 19 20 confirmation. 21 And who did you hear it from? 22 A The Secretary.

Page 55 And the Secretary was confirmed on 1 2 February 28, 2017; is that right? I -- like I said, you'd have to confirm 3 that date, but I think that was the date, yes. 4 And what did the Secretary tell you about 5 the idea of adding a question on citizenship to 6 the census during that first conversation shortly 7 after his confirmation? 8 Again, the exact time frame of the 9 10 conversation, I can't tell you. It was sometime 11 in that spring period. I don't recall the 12 details. I think he simply inquired as to why 13 don't we have a citizenship question on the 14 census. 15 Q Okay. And what did you say to him when he inquired? 16 17 Short answer, I don't know. I'll check. 18 REDACTED 19 20 2.1 22

Page 58 REDACTED 1 5 6 7 8 9 And then Mr. Langdon then says, "Earl is 10 O 11 very" -- underlined very -- "interested and thinks 12 the Secretary will be, as well." 13 Do you see that? A 14 Yes. On February 2nd of 2017 would have been 15 your fourth day on the job; is that right? 16 17 A Yep. Okay. And do you recall telling 18 19 Mr. Langdon that you were very interested in 20 Congressional notification of decennial ACS 21 topics? 22 I recall telling him that we were very

```
Page 59
1
     interested in the census and getting a briefing on
2
    it.
3
        0
            Okay.
4
            I don't specifically recall that, but --
            Were you very interested in the decennial
5
     topics on February 2, 2017?
6
            What probably would have caught my
7
        A
8
     attention is if we had to notify Congress about
9
     something, I would want to make sure we were up to
10
     speed on what we needed to notify them about.
11
        Q As of this date, February 2, 2017, do you
12
     recall if you had already had discussions
13
     regarding adding a citizenship question to the
14
     census?
           I don't recall having a discussion before
15
        A
    that.
16
            Mr. Langdon's email says, quote, it would
17
     make sense for John Thompson to touch on this
18
19
     topic in his overview briefing and then to have a
20
    follow-up briefing very soon.
21
             Was Mr. Thompson the Census Bureau
22
    director at the time?
```

Page 60 Yes. And did that overview briefing take place that's referred to in this email? I imagine it did. REDACTED 2.1 

Page 62 1 REDACTED 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 Were you shown this email in preparation 13 for your deposition today? 14 MR. GARDNER: I'm going to object and 15 instruct the witness not to answer on the grounds 16 of attorney work product. 17 18 I'm happy to let you answer when was the last time you saw the document. 19 20 But you're asking about documents counsel 21 may have shown that would be protected. 22 BY MR. COLANGELO:

```
Page 63
            When's the last time you saw this
1
        O
2
    document, Mr. Comstock?
3
            Yesterday.
        A
            And do you see the subject line of this
4
        0
5
    email is your question on the census?
        A
6
            Yep.
            Okay. And Secretary Ross was confirmed
7
        O
8
    on February 28th, I think we agreed; is that
9
    right?
10
        A
            Like I said, if that's the date, yes.
11
        0
            Okay. So this would have been
12
    Secretary Ross's eleventh day on the job as
13
    Commerce Secretary, give or take?
14
        A
            Approximately, yes.
            And the subject line of this email is
15
        0
    your question on the census?
16
        A
17
            Right.
18
        Q
            What was the Secretary's question on the
19
    census?
20
        A
            He appeared to have asked whether
21
    undocumented people were counted in the census.
22
        0
            Okay. And how did he ask you that
```

Page 64 question? 1 2 I don't recall. Probably at a meeting, possibly following up on a census briefing. I 3 don't know. 4 5 REDACTED 6 8 9 10 Q Okay. 11 By the way, I wanted to add one point. 12 On the prior document, you need to understand that 13 at that time, there were a number of questions 14 that the prior administration had requested be placed, potentially, on the census that would have 15 been involved in that notification. 16 So that would 17 have been a reason of why I would have been interested in that, on sexual orientation and 18 19 gender identity. So that was an issue that was 20 very at the forefront at the time of what to do 21 about those requests. 22 REDACTED

Page 65 1 REDACTED Okay. Did he ask you whether noncitizen 5 people were counted for apportionment purposes? 6 Well, based on the answer, it appears he 7 A might have. 8 Appears he might have or appears he did? 9 0 I couldn't tell you the answer on that. 10 11 Okay. 12 I don't recall the question, so --13 REDACTED 14 15 16 17 18 So you think it's likely that his 19 20 question was about whether undocumented immigrants 21 were counted for apportionment purposes? 22 A That's entirely possible, but he might

Page 66 have also just asked do we count undocumented 1 2 persons, and this is what I found on the Census 3 website. REDACTED 5 7 8 9 10 11 This link you've identified at 12 13 www.census.gov, that's the Census Bureau's 14 frequently asked web page for Congressional 15 apportionment; is that right? Again, without pulling it up, I couldn't 16 17 tell you specifically what it says. 18 Okay. If I represent to you that if you 19 pulled up that website, it would say frequently 20 asked questions for Congressional apportionment, 21 would that assist you? 22 I'd be happy to take your word for it.

Page 67 So does that assist you in recalling that 1 2 the Secretary asked whether noncitizens were counted for apportionment purposes? 3 And I have no recollection of the 4 question, so I can only go by the answer. 5 Okay. The email also includes a blog 6 O post from the Wall Street Journal; is that right? 7 8 A Uh-huh. 9 Okay. And your email to the Secretary 10 says that this blog post, quote, confirms that 11 neither the 2000s, nor the 2010 census asked about 12 citizenship? 13 A Correct. So does that lead you to conclude that 14 the Secretary asked about whether the decennial 15 census asks about citizenship? 16 That would be a reasonable supposition, 17 A 18 based on the response. 19 O And this blog post is called the pitfalls 20 of counting illegal immigrants; is that right? 21 A Yep. And were you concerned on March 10, 2017 22 O

```
Page 68
     about counting illegal immigrants?
1
2
         A
            I -- no, not personally.
            Was the Secretary concerned on
3
         0
4
     March 10, 2017 about counting illegal immigrants?
            Again, I have no recollection of the
5
     question, so I couldn't speculate as to what his
6
7
     concern was.
            But you testified that a significant part
8
9
     of your job function involves answering questions
10
     from the Secretary on issues that matter to him,
11
    right?
12
         A
             Correct.
            And if he asked you a question, you would
13
         0
     try to be responsive?
14
             Generally, yes.
15
         A
             You wouldn't ordinarily send him
16
     information that wasn't responsive to a question
17
18
     he asked, would you?
19
         A
             Not -- not characterized this way, no.
20
             So you testified a minute ago that the
21
     Secretary -- that you first heard about the notion
22
     of adding a question about citizenship to the
```

Page 69 census when the Secretary raised it with you 1 2 shortly after his confirmation. Does this email indicate to you that it was by March 10th that the 3 Secretary first raised it with you? I wouldn't necessarily draw that conclusion from this email. 6 Would you draw the conclusion that it was later than March 10? 8 No, I wouldn't. Again, this -- this 10 question does not directly address -- it's a 11 question about how -- who do we count, not whether 12 or not -- and whether there's a citizenship 13 question. So I don't know at this point whether 14 he indicated he was interested in such a question, 15 other than getting the factual information. 16 REDACTED 17 18 19 20 2.1 22

Page 78 REDACTED Sure. The highlighted line says, "No major government survey, including the decennial census now underway, asks Americans about their citizenship status." And you see that this blog post is dated May of 2010, correct?

```
Page 79
1
        A
            Uh-huh.
2
        0
            So the decennial census now underway, do
     you understand we refer to --
3
4
        A
             Would have been the 2010, yeah.
            Remember to please wait for me to finish
5
        0
     my question before you answer.
6
7
        A
            Sure.
            Did you highlight this line?
8
        0
9
        A
            Well, unless you did, then I'm assuming I
10
    did.
11
            I can represent to you we did not
12
    highlight this line.
13
            Okay. Then I will assume that it was
    highlighted in the email.
14
            And why did you highlight this line of
15
        0
    the blog post before sending it to the Secretary?
16
17
         A
            Well, it appears that the question was
18
     whether or not the citizenship question had been
19
     asked, at least on the 2010 census, and so I'm
20
    highlighting for him where in this article, so he
21
    doesn't have to read the whole thing that I found
22
    the information responsive to his question, which
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```
Page 80
1
     is a statement by somebody in Wall Street Journal,
2
     which is, you know, in some circles considered a
    reasonably accurate paper. Stating that it was
3
4
     not collected in the 2010 census.
           Okay. And take a look -- let's do that
5
     again. We had some interference from the
6
    conference line.
7
            Take a look at the second page of
8
9
    Comstock Exhibit 2. This is the page marked 2522.
10
        A
            Yep.
11
            And, again, about two-thirds of the way
        0
12
     down the page, there's another highlighted line.
13
            Do you see that?
            I -- yep.
14
        A
            I'll represent to you this line was
15
        0
     highlighted as the documents were produced to the
16
    plaintiffs in this lawsuits. We did not
17
18
    highlight.
19
        A
            Okay.
20
        0
           That line reads --
21
        A
           I can't read what it says.
22
        O
            -- "Many more foreign-born residents were
```

```
Page 81
1
     counted in 2000 than was expected based on annual
2
     estimates produced by the Bureau."
            Do you see that line?
3
            Yep. I'm -- I see the highlighted line,
4
     but I'm taking it at your word that that's what it
5
6
     says.
            Okay. The -- do you know why you
7
        0
8
     highlighted that line when you sent this blog post
9
    to the Secretary?
10
            Again, it would appear to indicate that
11
     the census may have underestimated the number of
12
     undocumented folks.
13
             Okay. So you told me that the Secretary
     first raised the idea of adding a citizenship
14
15
     question to the census shortly after he was
     confirmed. You've testified that on March 10th,
16
     you emailed him information showing that
17
     undocumented residents are included in the
18
19
     apportionment counts. You've testified on
20
     March 10th, you emailed him a blog post from the
21
     Wall Street Journal highlighting a line that no
22
     major government survey asks American's about
```

Page 82 1 their citizenship status. 2 Does that help you remember when the Secretary first expressed interest in adding a 3 citizenship question to the decennial census? 4 5 No. And does that help you remember that it 6 was no later than March 10th that the Secretary 7 first asked you that question? 8 9 Again, you're speculating as to when he 10 asked. But he appeared to have inquired about 11 some relevant aspects of it --12 Okay. 13 -- on March 10th. 14 REDACTED 15 16 17 18 19 20 2.1 22

Page 94 1 REDACTED 2 When's the first time you saw this 5 document? 6 Probably when we reviewed a draft in the 7 A Justice Department. 8 Q Okay. When was that? 9 10 A I couldn't tell you the date. 11 0 Was it near in time to the date below 12 Secretary Ross's signature, which is June 21, 13 2018? 14 I'd say that's likely, yes. 15 0 When's the last time you saw this 16 document? Right now. A 17 O When's the last time before right now 18 19 that you saw this document? 20 A I think maybe yesterday. I can't recall. 21 Q Okay. Did you draft this memo? 22 A I did not draft this memo, no.

```
Page 95
1
        0
             Did you assist in drafting this memo?
2
            I provided some edits to this memo.
        A
            Okay. Who else assisted in providing
3
        0
    edits to the memo?
4
        A
            The Office of General Counsel.
5
            Who in the Office of General Counsel?
6
        0
            I believe Mike Walsh.
7
        A
8
        0
            Anyone else?
            There may have been other counsel. I
9
        A
10
    don't know.
11
        Q
            Did Peter Davidson provide edits to this
12
    memo?
13
            It's entirely possible he did.
        A
            Did James Uthmeier provide edits to this
14
        O
15
    memo?
            It's possible, yes.
16
            The second sentence of this memo says,
17
        O
    "Soon after my appointment as Secretary of
18
19
    Commerce, I began considering various fundamental
20
    issues regarding the upcoming 2020 census,
21
    including funding and content. Part of these
22
    considerations included whether to reinstate a
```

```
Page 96
1
    citizenship question, which other senior
2
    administration officials had previously raised."
3
        A Yes.
            Do you see that?
4
        A
          I do.
5
        0
           Do you recall when -- strike that.
6
            Do you know what time period the
7
    Secretary is referring to in this memo when he
8
    says, "Soon after my appointment, I began
9
10
    considering various fundamental issues"?
11
        A
            Well, it appears that he would be talking
12
    about spring of 2017.
13
            And the Secretary says in this memo, "My
    staff and I thought reinstating a citizenship
14
    question could be warranted."
15
            Do you see that line?
16
17
        A
           Yep.
18
        0
            Okay. Who is the Secretary referring to
19
    when he says my staff and I?
20
        A
            That probably includes me and could
21
    include other staff.
22
        Q Which other staff?
```

Page 97 Other staff involved in this process 1 2 would include James Uthmeier, Mike Walsh, Wendy Teramoto, the Census staff. You know, 3 4 again, the entire department that works for him, 5 so --Okay. He refers in that line to, "My 6 staff and I thought reinstating a citizenship 7 question could be warranted." 8 9 Is that right? 10 Right. So he's likely talking about me. 11 And, again, whether he discussed this with 12 Eric Branstad, I have no idea. Izzy Hernandez was 13 working on this for a while, so he might have talked to him about it. And then, obviously, 14 James Uthmeier was working on this. Ellen Herbst, 15 16 whether he discussed it with her, I don't know. 17 REDACTED 18 19 20 2.1 22

Page 99 REDACTED Okay. I thought you said it came over from the Justice Department. It did, the first draft. REDACTED 2.1 

Page 100 1 REDACTED 2 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 Did you discuss the draft of this memo 13 with anybody outside the Office of the General 14 15 Counsel at Commerce? Other than when the Secretary signed it, 16 17 no. Okay. Tell me who you discussed it with 18 19 when the Secretary signed it? 20 A The Secretary. 21 And what did you discuss with him when he 22 signed it?

```
Page 101
             Mr. Secretary, the Justice Department
1
2
     recommends that we file this supplemental memo,
     and so we recommend you sign it.
3
            And did he read it when you showed it to
4
        O
    him?
5
            I believe he did, yes.
6
            Had you shown it to him before that
7
        0
    conversation?
8
9
        A
            I -- I don't know.
10
        O
            Do you know if OGC had shown it to him
11
    before that conversation?
12
        A
            It's entirely possible, yes.
13
            Do you know if the Justice Department
        0
     showed it to him before that conversation?
14
            I don't believe the Justice Department
15
        A
    came over to meet with them.
16
            Did you talk with anyone other than the
17
        O
     Secretary or your colleagues from the Office of
18
    General Counsel about this memo before June 21st?
19
20
        A
            Not that I recall.
21
            Did you discuss with it
        0
22
    Karen Dunn Kelley?
```

Page 102 That's entirely possible, yeah. REDACTED You mentioned that you were likely one of

the people the Secretary's referring to when he

Page 103 1 says my staff and I thought reinstating a 2 citizenship question could be warranted. 3 A Uh-huh. Why did you think in the spring of 2017 4 that reinstating a citizenship question could be 5 6 warranted? Because a citizenship question had 7 A 8 previously been asked. It's asked by every other 9 major democracy in the world, so why wouldn't we 10 ask? 11 Q And why did you want a citizenship 12 question? 13 Again, I think it provides important A information that's used for all kind of programs. 14 And if you want a complete and accurate census, 15 you would provide it. 16 What caused you to form a view on whether 17 O 18 the citizenship question should or should not be 19 added? 20 A When I was -- and I didn't really know 21 that it wasn't included in the census, but once I 22 became informed of that, it struck me as odd that

```
Page 104
    we don't ask the question.
1
2
            And you testified earlier that the
    Secretary is the first person who raised it to
3
4
    you?
5
            In my employment at the Department of
    Commerce, yes.
6
           Do you recall discussing it before you
7
        0
    worked at the Commerce Department?
8
           Probably sometime in the last 30-odd
9
10
    years, I'm in -- you know, in political science
11
    and politics, so I'm sure I discussed at.
            But the first time in 2017 that you
12
13
    recall considering this issue is when the
14
    REDACTED
15
16
17
18
19
20
2.1
22
```

Page 105

## REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

So I

1

5

6

7

8

9

10

11 12

13

14

15

16

17

18 19

20

21

22

REDACTED

separate this out. My decision or my belief that a -- a citizenship question should be included does not in any way change the process by which it might get included. So they're two separate things. I can hold the belief that a certain action might be warranted or should be taken independent of any analysis of whether or not that should be done. That's two separate things.

Okay. Well, again, I think you need to

The fact that I may think that as an objective, hypothetical question should one be added, I can form that belief quite quickly and hold that. That's, then, separate from is that the right decision to make for a variety of reasons, including some of the issues that you

think you're conflating the two.

```
Page 107
     just outlined.
1
2
         O
             And so in forming your view that a
     citizenship question should be added --
3
             Again, you're characterizing it in a way
         A
 4
     that I'm not. In forming my view that a
5
     citizenship question would be appropriate to
6
     include in a census, that's one thing.
7
8
         0
             Okay.
             Should be added is a separate --
9
         A
10
         Q
             Hang on a second. I haven't added a
     question yet.
11
12
             The Secretary's memo says my staff and I
     thought reinstating a citizenship question could
13
     be warranted, right? And you've testified that
14
     you were among the people he was referring to when
15
     he says my staff and I.
16
17
         A
             Right.
             So you were of the view that the
18
     citizenship -- adding a citizenship question could
19
20
     be warranted?
         A
             Yes.
21
         O
             And I'm asking in forming the view that
22
```

Page 108 adding a citizenship question could be warranted, 1 2 you relied only on common sense; is that what you testified? 3 MR. GARDNER: Objection. Mischaracterizes the witness's prior testimony. 6 BY MR. COLANGELO: What did you rely on in forming that 0 view? 8 A So, again, the key word is could. Could 10 be warranted, meaning it is worthy of 11 investigating further. That is what the document 12 says. 13 What did you rely on in forming that 0 14 view? The fact that other countries ask this 15 information; the fact that we ask it on the ACS of 16 17 a percentage of the population every year; the 18 fact that as a citizen, most people wouldn't be 19 concerned with answering that question. All of 20 those things are relevant. 2.1 REDACTED 22

Page 109 REDACTED Q When did you -- did there come a time 3 when you researched the statistical practices of 4 other countries? 5 Why would that be relevant? 6 A Mr. Comstock, you just testified that in 7 8 forming the view that adding a citizenship 9 question could be warranted, among the things you 10 considered was that other countries do. So I'm 11 asking you --12 Okay. 13 Q -- did you research the practices of other countries? 14 By that, you mean did I -- did I 15 determine that other countries ask the question? 16 17 Yes. In the spring of 2017? 18 19 A Yeah. I think we did a quick Google search, you know. 20 21 0 So you Googled the census practices of 22 other countries in order to determine that adding

Page 110 a citizenship question could be warranted? 1 2 Again, my formulation of a -- of a decision that it could be warranted is largely 3 based on common sense. 4 5 Okay. I just want to make sure that I understand. That as to the part of your answer 6 that related to the practices of other countries, 7 8 in the spring of 2017, you formed that view by 9 Googling it? 10 I may have asked if other countries did 11 it or I may have gotten online and looked. I 12 don't recall. 13 REDACTED 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 2.1 22

Page 111

	Page 112
1	Q Who are those other senior administration
2	officials?
3	You'd have to ask the Secretary.
4	You don't know yourself?
5	A I don't.
6	You have no idea which other senior
7	administration officials raised this question,
8	other than the Secretary?
9	A No.
10	Q You never asked him where the idea came
11	from?
12	A Nope.
13	Q He never told you where the idea came
14 15	(from?)  (A) Nope.
16	Q You spent a lot of time on this issue?
17	A Not relative to a lot of other things I
18	work on, no.
19	Q How would you characterize the amount of
20	time you spent on this issue?
21	One one-hundredth of my time.
22	You agree that it's an important issue?

```
Page 113
1
        A
            Correct.
2
        0
            It was important to the Secretary?
            Correct.
3
        A
4
        0
            He was motivated to get this done?
            He was working on a lot of different
5
        A
6
    issues at the time.
7
        0
            But this one was important to him?
8
        A
            Yes. Absolutely.
9
            Okay. And when you saw the draft of this
10
    memo before June 21st and it refers to other
11
    senior administration officials, you didn't
12
    yourself have any view or understanding of who
    those other administration officials were?
13
            I did not, no.
14
        A
            You didn't ask the secretary who those
15
        O
    other administration officials were?
16
        A
17
            No.
18
            Okay. When recommending that he sign the
19
    memo, he didn't say to you who are the other
20
    senior -- who the other senior administration
21
    officials were?
22
        A
            We did not discuss that, no.
```

```
Page 114
           And you said this came over from the
1
   Justice Department?
2
          Correct.
3
          Who sent it over, do you remember?
          I don't know.
6
   REDACTED
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
2.1
22
```

# REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

2.1

```
Page 117
   REDACTED
 1
2
            Did the Secretary speak with Mr. Bannon
    that night?
3
            I don't know.
4
            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for
5
    speculation. Lack of foundation.
6
            THE WITNESS: I do not know.
7
8
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
9
        0
            Did the Secretary speak with Kris Kobach
10
    on April 7, 2017?
11
        A
            No idea.
            Did you join a call with the Secretary
12
13
    regarding the census on April 5th of 2017?
            I have no idea.
14
        A
            You don't know if you joined the call
15
        0
    with the Secretary on April 5th of 2017?
16
        A I don't know what I was doing on
17
    April 5, 2017 without looking at a calendar or
18
    something else that would remind me. I'd have to
19
20
    go through my emails that day. I could not tell
21
    you what I was doing on that day.)
22
        0
            Do you know who Kris Kobach is?
```

```
Page 118
1
            I believe he's somebody with State of
        A
2
    Kansas maybe.
            And have you spoken to Mr. Kobach before?
3
        0
            I've never spoken to Mr. Kobach.
4
        A
          Have you emailed with Mr. Kobach?
5
        0
        A
            I've never emailed with Mr. Kobach.
6
        And after the call that's referred to in
7
8
    this email, did the Secretary tell you what he
9
    discussed?
10
        A
            No.
11
            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Lack of
12
    foundation.
13
            THE WITNESS: No.
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
14
          Who would know what was discussed on this
15
        0
    phone call?
16
            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for
17
    speculation. Also, lack of foundation.
18
19
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
20
        You can answer.
21
        A The parties to the call.
22
        You were working on the census in the
```

```
Page 119
    spring of 2017, correct?
1
2
        A Yes.
            And the Secretary frequently asked you
3
4
    for updates on the census-related matters in the
    spring of 2017, right?
5
            I wouldn't characterize it as frequently.
6
        A
        Q Did the Secretary ever ask you for
7
8
    updates on census matters in the spring of 2017?
9
        A
            Yes, he did.
10
        O
            Did he ever update you on developments
11
    that he was aware of regarding the census in the
12
    spring of 2017?
13
           It's unusual for the Secretary to update
        A
    me on anything.
14
            Would the Secretary have told you if he
15
        0
    had a conversation with Steven Bannon about the
16
17
    census?
18
        A
            Not necessarily.
19
        O
            Would he have told you if he had a
    conversation about the census with Kris Kobach?
20
21
        A
            Not necessarily.
22
        O
            Why not?
```

```
Page 120
            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Form.
1
2
            THE WITNESS: I wouldn't speculate, but
    he's the Secretary. He makes his own decisions.
3
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
4
        Q So has the Secretary ever told you about
5
    a conversation he had with someone else?
6
            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Form.
7
8
            THE WITNESS: Yes. He reports to me
    sometimes if he feels that it's essential that I
9
10
    know the substance of conversation.
11
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
      Q Okay.
12
13
            MR. COLANGELO: Can we mark this
    Exhibit 7?
14
15
            (Plaintiffs' Exhibit 7, Email, was
16
    marked.)
            THE WITNESS: Thank you very much.
17
18
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
            Handed the witness a document stamped 763
19
        O
20
    and marked Exhibit 7.
21
            Mr. Comstock, do you have Exhibit 7 in
22
    front of you?
```

```
Page 121
        A
            I do.
1
2
            Have you seen this email before?
        0
        A
            No, I haven't.
3
            This is the first you've ever seen this
4
        O
    email?
5
        A
6
            Yes.
            Okay. If you turn to the second page --
7
        0
8
        A
            I'm sorry. I'm just reading the
9
    document.
10
            Okay.
11
        Q
            Do you see at the bottom of page -- of
     the first page of this exhibit, Mr. Comstock,
12
13
     there's an email from Kris Kobach to
     Wendy Teramoto --
14
15
        A
            Right.
           -- on July 21, 2017; is that right?
16
        A
           That's what it says.
17
           And the email says, "Wendy, nice meeting
18
        0
19
     you on the phone this afternoon. Below is the
20
     email that I sent to Secretary Ross. He and I had
21
    spoken briefly on the phone about this issue at
22
    the direction of Steven Bannon a few months
```

```
Page 122
    earlier."
1
2
            Do you see that?
        A I see that.
3
            Okay. That was the call on April 5th
4
    that we were just talking about, right?
5
            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Lack of
6
    foundation. Calls for speculation.
7
8
            THE WITNESS: Doesn't specify when the
9
    phone call took place.
10
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
11
        And did Wendy tell you she got this email
    from Kris Kobach in July of 2017?
12
13
        A No.
            You've never spoken to Wendy about
14
    Kris Kobach, at all?
15
            Not that I recall.
16
            Is there anyone else that you're aware of
17
        O
    that Steven Bannon directed the Secretary to talk
18
19
    to about the census, other than Kris Kobach?
            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Lack of
20
21
    foundation.
22
            THE WITNESS: I have no knowledge of any
```

	Page 123
1	conversations with Steven Bannon, so I wouldn't
2	know who he might have suggested the Secretary
3	talk to.
4	BY MR. COLANGELO:
5	Have you ever spoken to Steven Bannon
6	yourself?
7	A I have never spoken to Steven Bannon
8	myself.
9	
10	REDACTED
11	
12	
13	
14	
15	
16	
17	
18	
19	
20	
21	
22	

Page 124 REDACTED

2.1

Page 125

Page 126

Veritext Legal Solutions

# REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

## REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

Page 129

Page 130

Veritext Legal Solutions

Page 131

### REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

## REDACTED

And if you're considering adding a

citizenship question, it would also be important

to know the response rates on all demographic

questions; is that right?

A That would be one of the questions you

would ask, yes.

#### REDACTED

22

1

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

2.1

Page 135 REDACTED 1 2 3 Did he ever tell you that he spoke with 4 Mr. Newman about the citizenship question? 5 I'm fairly certain he was -- he did talk 6 A 7 to him at some point. 8 0 Okay. When was that? 9 I couldn't tell you. 10 0 Did Mr. Newman ever say to you that he 11 had spoken to the Secretary about adding a 12 citizenship question? It's possible, yeah. 13 A Okay. When did he tell you? 14 15 Again, I don't recall the exact date. Try to place it, roughly. 16 To your question, was there discussion of 17 18 the possibility of adding a citizenship question 19 in the spring? Yes. That does not mean any firm 20 decision had been made. We were exploring the 21 opportunity. 22 REDACTED

```
Page 137
    REDACTED
 1
 2.
            Can you tell me what you mean by decision
3
    memo?
            The memo that the Secretary produced
    documenting his decision. There was a reference
    to other response rates and demographic.
    clearly, at some point, the information became
    available.
10
            And you're referring to the
11
    March 26, 2018 from the Secretary to Karen
    Dunn Kelley?
12
13
            Yes.
14
    REDACTED
15
            MR. COLANGELO: Let's mark Exhibit 9.
16
            (Plaintiffs' Exhibit 9, Email, was
17
18
    marked.)
19
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
20
            We have marked a document stamped 3694 as
21
    Exhibit 9. Do you have this email in front of
22
    you?
```

```
Page 138
1
        A
            I do.
2
            Have you seen this email before?
        0
3
        A
            Yes.
            Before today, when is the last time you
4
        O
5
    saw this email?
6
        A
            Yesterday.
            And this is an email from
7
        0
8
    Brooke Alexander to you with a copy to
    Wendy Teramoto; is that right?
9
10
        A
            Correct.
11
        0
            Dated April 20, 2017?
            Yep.
12
        A
13
            And did you understand this to be a
        Q
    message from the Secretary?
14
15
        A
            That's what Brooke's message says.
        Q
            Brooke has access to the Secretary's
16
    email?
17
18
        A
            Yes.
19
        O
            And is it -- okay. Withdrawn.
20
            Are you familiar with the National
21
    Advisory Committee on Racial, Ethnic and Other
22
    Populations?
```

```
Page 139
            No.
1
2
            You have no idea what the National
         0
     Advisory Committee is?
3
             I mean, I know it's an advisory committee
4
     to Census, but outside of that, I -- I couldn't
5
     tell you what they do, other than what their title
6
     suggests that they do.
7
            So you're aware that there's a National
8
9
     Advisory Committee on Racial, Ethnic and Other
10
     Populations that advises the Census Bureau?
11
         A I take that from this email that's
12
     correct, yes.
13
            And what do you understand the role of
         O
     the advisory committee to be?
14
             To provide advice to the Census Bureau.
15
         A
             Okay. The message from Brooke speaking
16
17
     for the Secretary to you says, "Earl, Census"
     director has on April 29th a meeting of the
18
19
     National Advisory Committee. We must get our
20
    issue resolved before this " -- exclamation point,
    and the must is underlined.
21
22
             Do you see that?
```

```
Page 140
            I see that.
1
        A
2
            What is our issue?
        0
           I couldn't tell you.
3
            Our issue is the citizenship question,
        O
4
    right?
5
            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for
6
    speculation. Lack of foundation.
7
            THE WITNESS: I would say likely not,
8
9
    actually, given there's no reason to believe the
10
    National Advisory Committee on Racial, Ethnic and
11
    Other Populations would be advising on a
12
    citizenship question.
13
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
            Were there other issues that you'd been
14
        0
    talking about with the Secretary involving the
15
    census in the spring of 2017 that would relate to
16
    the National Advisory's mandate?
17
18
        A
            Certainly the SOGI question would, and
19
    the MENA question would.
20
            But the notification date for the SOGI
21
    question was at the end of March in 2017 -- for
22
    the SOGI topics, I should say, correct?
```

```
Page 141
        A
            Correct.
1
2
        0
            So that was already resolved by April,
3
     right?
4
            I'm not certain of the timing, but MENA,
     I think, was not resolved until sometime in the
5
     spring or summer.
6
        Q And sticking with the SOGI question --
7
8
     and for the record, that' S-O-G-I. SOGI stands
9
    for sex orientation and gender identity.
10
        A
            Correct.
11
            Would you conclude if the Secretary
12
     referred to a National Advisory Committee on
13
     Racial and Ethnic, Populations that the SOGI
     question would be what he had in mind?
14
            I would quess. Again, this is
15
     speculation, but my best quess, based on this
16
     reference, is probably more like the MENA issue is
17
     what was in front of us.
18
19
            Okay. And describe the MENA issue?
20
           The Middle Eastern North African
21
     question. There's a question as to whether you
22
    ask two questions or you ask one question. And
```

```
Page 142
1
     it's not a topic I spent a tremendous amount of
2
     time on, but it was something that the Census was
     very much discussing at the time.
3
4
            And had you discussed that issue with the
     Secretary?
5
             We had a conversation or two about it.
6
        A
     And, again, it was largely in the context of which
7
8
     way to go on that question.
9
            And why would the Secretary have said
10
     that that issue must be resolved by April 29th?
11
             MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for
12
     speculation. Lack of foundation.
13
     BY MR. COLANGELO:
14
           You can answer.
        O
           You know, again, at that point -- this is
15
        A
     shortly before a -- if I recall correctly, a
16
     Congressional hearing that was going to go into
17
18
     the census and probably wanted to have a position
19
     to recommend to Director Thompson as to what he
20
     should say to the advisory group. (Again, I don't)
21
     recall this reference or precisely what he was
22
    speaking to.
```

```
Page 143
           Okay. This isn't a topic you'd spent a
1
2
     lot of time on, right, the Middle Eastern
    North African question?
3
4
        A
            Correct.
            There's no reason the Secretary would
5
    have referred to it as our issue, is there?
6
            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for
7
8
    speculation. Lack of foundation.
            THE WITNESS: Again, depending on if his
9
10
     perception was that there was an administration
11
     policy call to make on it, he would refer to it as
12
    our issue.
13
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
            He could also have referred to the
14
        0
    citizenship issue as your issue, right?
15
            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for
16
    speculation. Lack of foundation.
17
18
            THE WITNESS: Again, I would say looking
19
     at the context of the email, I would say that's an
20
    unlikely connection.
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
21
22
        Q And by April 20th of 2017, how many times
```

```
Page 144
1
    had you discussed the citizenship question with
2
    Secretary Ross?
        A I have no idea.
3
        More than a handful?
4
        A Possibly.
5
            Okay. Would you say he was extremely
6
        0
    interested in the issue?
7
            Certainly, when he raised it, he was
8
        A
9
    interested in it.
10
        O
            Okay. You wouldn't say he was extremely
11
    interested in the MENA question, right?
12
            When we discussed it, he was equally
    interested in that.
13
            He didn't raise it with you with the same
14
        0
    frequency he raised the citizenship question,
15
    right?
16
        A That's correct.
17
        Q Why was Wendy Teramoto copied on this
18
19
    email?
20
            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for
21
    speculation.
22
            THE WITNESS: Couldn't tell you.
```

```
Page 145
1
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
2
           Did you speak with her about this issue
        0
3
    after you got this message?
        A
            It's possible. I don't recall.
4
            MR. COLANGELO: Can we mark this
5
    Exhibit 10?
6
            (Plaintiffs' Exhibit 10, Email, was)
7
    marked.)
8
9
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
10
        O
            Handed the witness a document stamped
11
    3710 and we've marked it as Exhibit 10.
12
        A
            Okay.
            Have you read this email?
13
        0
        A
14
            Yep.
            Okay. You've seen this email before?
15
        0
        A
            I have.
16
            When's the last time you saw this email?
17
        O
18
        A
           Yesterday.
19
        O
            When you saw this email yesterday, was it
20
    redacted as it is in the form I've shown it to you
21
    now or was it unredacted?
22
        A It was redacted.
```

Page 146 Okay. And you see that the Secretary has 1 2 written you an email on May 2, 2017 that says, quote, worst of all, they emphasize they have 3 settled with Congress on the guestions to be 4 5 asked. I am mystified why nothing has been done in response to my months' old request that we 6 include the citizenship question. Why not? 7 Do you see that? 8 I see that. 9 10 0 When did the Secretary make his months! 11 old request to include the citizenship question? 12 Again, sometime in the spring. 13 Probably on March 10th when you emailed him the Wall Street Journal blog post? 14 15 Potentially. I don't recall. 16 REDACTED 17 18 19 20 2.1 22

Page 147 REDACTED 1 5 6 7 MR. COLANGELO: Can we mark this Exhibit 8 Number 11? 9 (Plaintiffs' Exhibit 11, Email, was 10 11 marked.) 12 BY MR. COLANGELO: Okay. This is -- have you had a chance 13 to look at this email? 14 Lot of black spots on it. Okay. 15 Have you seen this email before? 16 17 Apparently I must have seen it when I A 18 wrote it. 19 When's the last time before today you saw 20 this email? 21 A Probably May 1, 2017. 22 Q Okay. And does this email reflect that

```
Page 148
1
     you sent the Secretary, Director Thompson's House
2
     appropriation subcommittee written testimony?
3
        A Yes.
4
           And his testimony was for, quote, this
    Wednesday?
5
        A
            Right. That's what it appears.
6
           And if I told you that -- oh, if you look
7
        0
8
     at the subject line it says, Wednesday, May 3rd;
9
    is that right?
10
        A
            That's correct.
11
        0
           Okay. So let's refer back to Exhibit 10.
12
        A
            Yep.
13
            Now that you see the day before you had
        0
     sent the Secretary Mr. Thompson's written
14
    testimony for the House appropriation subcommittee
15
    hearing --
16
        A
17
           Right.
18
            -- what do you understand, worst of all
19
     they emphasize they have settled with Congress to
20
    mean?
21
            MR. GARDNER: Same objection. Calls for
22
    speculation.
```

```
Page 149
1
            THE WITNESS: Again, I'm not sure without
2
     further context who they is. He could be
3
    referring to that advisory committee that you had
4
     had in a previous email. He could be referring to
    Census.
5
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
6
        Q Does the advisory committee establish the
7
    content for the census?
8
9
        A Again, the context of this email is that
10
     somebody appears to be emphasizing that they've
11
     settled with Congress on the questions. That
12
     clearly is not the case, because questions aren't
13
     due until March of 2018. So they couldn't have
     settled on the questions.
14
        Q And you see that at the top of
15
     Exhibit 10, you email the Secretary saying, "On
16
    the citizenship question, we will get that in
17
18
    place"?
19
        A
           Uh-huh.
20
        O
           Do you see that?
21
        A
            Yep.
22
        O
            What did you mean by that?
```

Page 150 1 Well, it means that we're, as instructed, 2 going to continue to work on developing a citizenship question, and that process -- again, 3 4 it's probably helpful at this point to explain on the policy side, right, you formulate -- you 5 6 formulate something that you think you would like to do, and then you go explore that. That's my 7 8 job, is to go. Secretary says, I think this might 9 be a good idea, you run it down, and you track 10 down the issues, and you say -- you know, first 11 question I usually ask is, okay, is this something 12 that Department of Commerce does? Do we have 13 legal authority to do this? Once you clear those 14 two thresholds, now you get to work. But I don't spend a lot of time chasing 15 down things that people are not planning on doing. 16 17 Q So you --18 So there has to be some initial threshold 19 decision that this is worth pursuing. 20 Now, let me stop you there, because you said a minute ago, as instructed. And you're 21 22 referring to instructions from the Secretary,

```
Page 151
     correct?
1
2
            To pursue, exploring the guestion.
         A
            This was instructions to add the question
3
         0
     in response to my months' old request that we
4
    include the citizenship question, correct?
5
             This would be instructions to review and
6
         A
     consider and present to him information that would
7
8
     allow him to make a decision on whether or not to
    take final action.
9
10
         O
             Mr. Comstock, I'm just asking you what
11
     you understood on May 2nd --
             And that's what I'm telling you I
12
13
    understood on May 2nd.
            Hold on one second. Let me finish the
14
         0
15
    question.
         A
16
             Uh-huh.
             The Secretary wrote, "I am mystified why
17
     nothing has been done in response to my months'
18
19
     old request that we include the citizenship
20
    question."
21
             And you responded, "On the citizenship
22
    question, we will get that in place"?
```

Page 152 1 Correct. 2 0 Okay. So my question is: By we will get that in place, what did you mean? 3 4 I meant that I will present to you the information and the process necessary for you to 5 decide if you would like to pursue this question. 6 Your email says we will get that in 7 0 8 place, correct? 9 I mean, we will get in front of you the 10 necessary information for you to make a decision. 11 Part of my role in this process is explaining to 12 people who have never worked in government before 13 that there are processes that you have to follow in order to make an action happen. You're dealing 14 with people who are used to being able to make a 15 decision and it simply goes into effect. 16 17 Q Okay. 18 A That's not the way the U.S. government 19 works. 20 So the process that you then go on to 21 tell the Secretary he has to follow is later in 22 your message; is that right?

Page 153 1 That part of the process, yes. 2 0 And that email says we need to work with Justice to get them to request that citizenship be 3 4 added back as a census question; is that right? That's right. 5 Why would you say you needed to work with 6 the Justice Department to get them to request that 7 8 citizenship be added back? 9 Because based on a very preliminary 10 review, they appeared to be the most likely 11 government body that would have a specific need 12 for the information that would support adding a 13 citizenship question to the decennial census. 14 Q Who conducted that preliminary review? 15 We were told by the Census Bureau that the Justice Department was the person that had 16 requested the citizenship question on the ACS and 17 that they utilized the ACS data for Voting Rights 18 19 Act information. 20 REDACTED 22 And why did you need a request from

Page 154 Justice? 1 2 Again, based on the preliminary review, the understanding we had was questions are added, 3 4 based on requests from a government agency. There is such a thing as the Paperwork Reduction Act 5 6 where you have to justify to OMB why do I need this information? That has to get cleared. So 7 8 there are certain hurdles you have to get through. 9 So if at the end of the day the Secretary decided 10 to pursue this question, we would need to clear 11 certain legal thresholds. 12 Why not just tell the Census Bureau to 13 add the citizenship question and say the Secretary 14 wanted it? Because I'm not sure that that would be 15 the process they would necessarily agree to 16 17 follow. 18 So you had to have it come from DOJ in 19 order for the Census Bureau to agree to follow it? 20 Again, that was a preliminary conclusion 21 based on a cursory analysis. 22 REDACTED

Page 155 REDACTED 3 What court cases were your referring? I don't recall the exact court cases. Did you research those court cases? I did research a court case where there 6 was a scenario in which you would need -- it would 7 8 be important to have Citizen Voting Age Population 9 data in order to make a Voting Rights Act claim. 10 O How did you identify that case? 11 By a legal research. 12 What do you mean by legal research? 13 Well, I think I talked to -- I'm trying to think -- I think Mark Neuman may have provided 14 a case name. I talked to James Uthmeier, who 15 looked at some cases. Basically said, okay, if 16 17 this is the question -- I mean, it's what you do 18 as an attorney all day long, is to go find cases 19 to support what you're looking for. 20 So Mark Neuman identified for you a case 21 that would support DOJ's need for this 22 information?

```
Page 156
            Yeah. I said I may have spoken to
1
2
     Mark Neuman on that. I think he may have provided
    it. I don't recall. I know James Uthmeier looked
3
4
     at some cases.
            Would he have provided that case for you
5
    on a phone call or by email?
6
            James?
7
        A
            Pardon me?
8
        0
9
            I'm sorry. Withdraw that question.
10
             Would Mr. Newman have provided that case
11
    to you by email or on the phone?
            Well, if he provided it by email, you'd
12
13
    have it. I don't have the emails in front of me,
    so I can't tell you.
14
        Q So by May of 2017, you'd come to the view
15
    that you needed another agency to request a
16
    citizenship question on the census?
17
18
        A
            That was based on the preliminary
19
    analysis, yes.
20
        Q You then say in your email, "I will
21
    arrange a meeting with DOJ staff this week to
22
    discuss."
```

```
Page 157
1
            Do you see that?
2
        A
            Yes.
            Okay. So before May 2, 2017, you had not
3
4
     had any discussions with the Department of Justice
     about the citizenship question, right?
5
            Not to my knowledge.
6
         A
            What did you do to arrange a meeting with
7
8
     DOJ staff to discuss?
9
         A
            I asked Eric Branstad for a name over at
10
     DOJ, and he provided me the name of
11
     Mary -- Mary Jane [sic] Hankey I think it was,
12
     whom I then contacted.
13
            Okay. Your email refers to the court
     cases to illustrate that DOJ has a legitimate need
14
    for the question to be included.
15
            That's what it says, yes.
16
            What were the other needs that you had
17
         O
18
     talked about for including the citizenship
19
    question?
20
         A
            I don't recall.
21
            Okay. And by legitimate need, were you
         0
22
     concerned that other needs that didn't come from
```

Page 158 DOJ would not be legitimate needs? No. I think that's just an imprecise -- the use of the term legitimate, something to say that it would be a need that would be considered a government need for the information. REDACTED 2.1 

Page 161 REDACTED Had you attended the meetings with the Secretary and Mr. Neuman on the citizenship question before May 2, 2017? I don't know. I had attended meetings

Page 162 with the Secretary and Mr. Newman on the census. 1 2 Before May 2017? Yes. How many times? I don't know. Two times, three times. I'd -- you'd have to check his count. 6 Okay. And the citizenship question was 0 discussed in those earlier meetings? 8 I don't recall. 10 REDACTED 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 2.1 22

REDACTED

Page 164

2.1

Veritext Legal Solutions

Page 166

1

2

4

5

6

6

7

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

REDACTED

Q So on May 2nd, the Secretary asked you

why nothing had been done in response to his

months' old request. You told him you needed to

get the Justice Department to request the

question. You also told him that you would set up

meetings with the Justice Department to discuss.

And then after that, you asked Eric Branstad to

get you a point of contact at the Justice

Department and he did, right?

MR. GARDNER: Objection. Form.

THE WITNESS: That appears to be the

BY MR. COLANGELO:

sequence.

Q Okay. And you testified earlier that you

hadn't ever spoken to the Justice Department

before that on the citizenship issue?

A That's correct.

Page 167 1 REDACTED 5 6 And why were you contacting Mary Blanche? 8 Her surname is redacted on this email, I assume 9 10 for personal privacy reasons. But this is Mary 11 Blanche Hankey, correct? 12 Yes. 13 Q Why were you contacting Mary Blanche 14 Hankey? 15 That was the name that Eric Branstad said 16 he'd provide me. 17 Okay. And do you know where in the White House -- strike that. 18 19 Do you know where in the 20 Justice Department she worked? 21 A She was advisor for -- to 22 Attorney General Sessions.

Page 168 0 So she worked for the Attorney General? 1 2 A Correct. And you reached out to her to talk about 3 the citizenship question, right? 4 Amongst other things, yes. 5 And you reached out to her and asked her 6 for times for a call that day, right? 7 8 A That's what I'm asking for, yes. 9 Okay. Is that because this was an urgent 10 priority for the Secretary? 11 A I think you can divine from his prior 12 email that he was hoping I might take a quick 13 action on this, so I was trying to be responsive. So the answer is yes? 14 0 15 I'm not going to speculate as to whether he thought it was urgent or not, but he was 16 conveying he would like me to get moving. 17 18 You were treating it as an urgent matter? 19 A Correct. 20 REDACTED 2.1

```
Page 169
    REDACTED
 1
2
             I met with her -- I think I spoke with
    her by phone and then met with her in her office.
3
             When did you speak with her by phone?
4
         0
            I couldn't tell you.
        A
5
            Was it on May 4th?
6
        0
            It's possible.
7
        A
            And then you met with her in her office,
8
        0
9
    you said?
10
        A
            Yes.
11
        0
            When was that meeting?
            I don't know the exact date.
12
        A
            When you spoke to her on the phone, was
13
        0
            else on the call with you?
14
15
        A
             No.
             Was anyone else on the call on her end?
16
17
        A
            Not that I was aware of, no.
             When you met with her in person, did
18
        Q
19
    anyone from the Commerce Department go with you?
20
        A
             No.
21
        0
            Did anyone from the Census Bureau go with
22
    you?
```

	Page 170
1	A No.
2	Q Was there anyone else in the meeting that
3	she brought?
4	A No.
5	Q What did you say to her when you spoke to
6	her on the phone?
7	A That I'd like to come over and discuss
8	what issues the Justice Department might have with
9	Commerce that I could be helpful on and talk to
10	her about an issue that we were interested in.
11 12	Q And that issue was the citizenship question?
13	A Correct.
14	Q And what did she say about that?
15	A Let's get together and meet.
16	So then you went over to meet with her.
17	Did she have any issues that she wanted to raise
18	with you?
19	A I don't recall that Justice had any
20	particular Commerce issues, no.
21	Q So this was a meeting about the
22	citizenship question?

Page 171 1 I'd say that was the primary topic. 2 0 Okay. And what did you say to her when you met with her in person? 3 4 That we -- the Secretary had asked us to look into the possibility of adding a citizenship 5 question, and that since the Justice Department 6 was the agency that had sponsored the question for 7 8 the ACS, it seemed that that was a logical place 9 to start, and was there someone in the 10 Justice Department with whom I should speak about 11 that. 12 O And what did she say? 13 Let me look into it. A How long was the meeting? 14 0 Well, we met for about 20 minutes. 15 A Did you explain why the Secretary wanted 16 17 the citizenship question? 18 A No. 19 Did you have an understanding at that 20 point as to why the Secretary wanted the citizenship question? 21 22 A I've never asked the Secretary why he

Page 172 wanted a citizenship question. Did she ask you why it was important to Commerce Department to add a citizenship question? She being Ms. Hankey. No. REDACTED 2.1 

Page 174 REDACTED 1 2 O And after you met with Ms. Hankey and she said she'd look into it, what was the next that 3 4 you heard from the Justice Department on this 5 issue? A I think when she contacted me, provided a 6 7 name. How long after your meeting did she 8 0 9 contact you and provide a name? 10 A There's an email that documents it, you 11 could tell from that, but otherwise, I have no 12 idea. 13 Q Okay. I mean, it was sometime in the next 14 couple weeks, but --15 And what name did she give you? 16 I -- I know I put it in a memo to the 17 A Secretary later on, so you'd have to look at that 18 19 memo. Is it James McHenry? 20 Q 21 A That sounds like the right name. 22 O When she spoke to you to pass along

```
Page 175
1
    James McHenry's name, what did she say about why
2
    she was directing you to him?
            She didn't say much. Just said this
3
         A
4
    would be the best guy to talk to.
            Okay. Had you spoken to James McHenry
5
    before?
6
             Never talked to him before.
7
        A
8
         0
             Did she tell you what his position was in
9
    the Department of Justice?
10
        A
             She might have.
11
            What was his position?
        0
            I don't know, actually.
12
        A
13
            After she gave you Mr. McHenry's name,
        O
    what did you do next to contact him?
14
            I called him on the phone.
15
        A
             And when you spoke to him on the phone
16
17
    what did you say?
18
         A
            I outlined that we were interested in
    seeing what kind of level of interest the
19
20
    Justice Department would have in requesting the
    citizenship question be asked -- added to the
21
22
    decennial census.
```

Page 176 And did you tell him why the 1 2 Commerce Department wanted the Justice Department to make that request? 3 Because that was our understanding of the 4 process. They were the people that needed it for 5 6 ACS, and our understanding was that it might be useful for them to have it at a more granule 7 8 level, which would be needed -- you'd need to put 9 it on the decennial census to do that. 10 O So you were -- you told him that the 11 Commerce Secretary wanted the question and wanted 12 to know if DOJ would ask for the Census Bureau to add the question; is that right? 13 Those are your words. 14 A Well, I'm asking you to tell me yes or 15 0 16 no. 17 Well, if the question is yes or no, then the answer is no. 18 19 O Okay. How would you put it in your 20 words? 21 A In my words, what I told him was that we 22 were exploring the possibility and wanting to know

```
Page 177
     the level of interest at the Justice Department in
1
2
     making such a request, would this be information
    they could use?
3
            So this is the shortly -- this is shortly
4
     after the Secretary of Commerce emailed you and
5
     said I am mystified why nothing had been done in
6
    response to my months' old request?
7
8
        A
            Right.
9
        0
             But your testimony is that you conveyed
10
     to the Justice Department that you were exploring
11
     the issue?
12
             As I explained before, when -- when the
     Secretary says he would like to do something,
13
14
     there's a presumption that we will attempt to do
     that. That's subject to revision as more
15
     information is made available. So I'm exploring
16
     what is necessary to follow through on the
17
     Secretary's request. That request may be modified
18
     or changed, based on the information that I
19
20
     provide.
            Okay. How many times did you speak to
21
22
    Mr. McHenry?
```

```
Page 178
            I think three or four times.
1
        A
2
        0
            And what was the next time you spoke to
    him after the initial phone call?
3
            Maybe a week later.
4
        A
            Okay. And what did he say when he -- did
5
        0
    he call you or did you call him?
6
            I don't recall.
7
        A
            And what did you discuss on that
8
         0
9
    conversation?
10
        A
            That he was still exploring the guestion.
11
            How long was that conversation?
        0
12
        A
            Five minutes.
13
            Okay. So he didn't have anything new to
        0
14
    report?
15
        A
            Right.
            Okay. And you said you spoke to him at
16
    least a couple more times; is that right?
17
            Again, I don't recall the exact number of
18
         A
19
    times, but somewhere in the vicinity of three or
    four times.
20
21
        0
            So after the second call where he said he
22
    was still exploring it, tell me about the next
```

Page 179 1 conversation? 2 A Memory serves, I think the next conversation was a similar one. He was still 3 looking into the matter and then -- and then the 4 last conversation he and I had, he directed me to 5 6 somebody at the Department of Homeland Security. Okay. And over what period of time were 7 0 8 you talking to Mr. McHenry on the phone? 9 A Probably over the course of a month. 10 O So this was primarily in May of 2017? 11 A I honestly don't recall, but sometime in 12 May, early June. 13 And who did he direct you to at the 0 Department of Homeland Security? 14 I don't remember the person's name. 15 A Was it Gene Hamilton? 16 Again, I know I prepared a memo for the 17 A 18 Secretary that had the name. So if that's the 19 name that was on the memo, then, yes, that would 20 be the person I spoke with. 21 How many times did you speak to your O 22 point of contact at the Department of

Page 180 1 Homeland Security? 2 Again, I think it was -- I think this was A like two or three times. 3 0 And what did you say when you first spoke 4 to Mr. Hamilton? 5 Same -- same basic message, we're looking 6 A into the -- exploring the possibility of putting a 7 8 census question on -- a citizenship question on 9 the decennial census, would this be information 10 that the Department of Homeland Security would 11 need or use, and could he answer that, and his 12 response was, let me look into it. 13 Now, the Department of Homeland Security wasn't the original requester for the ACS 14 citizenship question, to your understanding, 15 16 correct? 17 A Correct. 18 Was it your view that the Department of 19 Homeland Security would also be a legitimate 20 requester of this information? 21 A Legitimate is not the right word, but 22 the -- I think my view was, let me see if

Page 181 1 there's -- what their explanation would be, but 2 they were obviously not our first choice. So you were looking for an agency to make 3 4 this ask? Again, my understanding of the process, 5 6 based on the research I've been able to do, and 7 consequently was advising the Secretary was an 8 agency needed to make the request; therefore, you 9 have to find an agency that would have a reason to 10 be using this information. And Justice, 11 obviously, was the primary recipient of the CVAP 12 data from the ACS, so they were the logical place 13 to start. Justice then says go to 14 Homeland Security, and I say, okay, maybe there's 15 something about Homeland Security that I don't know about that might justify this data. So you 16 follow up on a call, get more information, informs 17 18 your decision, you might change it. 19 O And so my question was: So you were 20 looking for an agency to make this ask and --21 A Correct. In order to implement the 22 process that had been outlined to us, you needed

```
Page 182
    an agency. So that was my task at the time.
1
2
        Q Thank you.
            MR. COLANGELO: Let's mark this
3
    Exhibit --
4
            MR. GARDNER: 15.
5
            MR. COLANGELO: -- 15.
6
            (Plaintiffs' Exhibit 15, Memo, was
7
8
    marked.)
9
            THE WITNESS: The very memo I was
10
    speaking of.
11
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
        Q Exhibit 15 is document stamped 9834.
12
13
            Mr. Comstock, do you have Exhibit 15 if
14
    front of you?
15
        A
          I do.
            Is this the very memo you were just
16
    speaking about?
17
18
            It's the very memo I was just speaking
        A
19
    about.
20
        Q
            And what's the date on this memo?
21
        A September 8th.
22
        0
            And you see in the second paragraph of
```

```
Page 183
     this memo, the sentence that says, "James directed
1
2
     me to Gene Hamilton at the Department of
     Homeland Security."
3
4
         A
             Correct.
             So the person you were speaking to at DHS
5
     was Gene Hamilton, right?
6
             Apparently so, yes.
7
         A
             The -- in that paragraph -- strike that.
8
         0
9
             This is a memo from you to the Secretary
10
     dated September 8th of 2017, correct?
11
         A
             Correct.
12
             Why did you prepare this memo?
             Because the Secretary was asking about
13
         A
     the lack of progress and said he was prepared to
14
     call the Attorney General, and so he needed the
15
    timeline of who I had spoken to.
16
             Okay. What do you mean by lack of
17
18
     progress?
19
            Well, obviously, we're now September 8th,
20
     and he inquired on May -- May whatever the date
21
     was, 2nd, 5th, whatever it was, saying how come we
22
    haven't made more progress? Three months later we
```

```
Page 184
1
     don't have any response from the
2
     Justice Department, so --
            In his May 2nd email it said, why has
3
         0
4
     nothing been done in response to my months' old
    request?
5
            That is what it says, yes.
6
         A
            So the Secretary had been asking about
7
         0
8
     this since the early spring of 2017?
9
         A
            Yes.
10
         O
            And you testified and this memo says you
11
     met in person with Mary Blanche and she said what?
12
            Well, as I said, she directed me to
13
     James McHenry.
             And then after speaking with Mr. McHenry,
14
         0
     he told you what?
15
            He directed me to Gene Hamilton.
16
            Okay. And then after several phone calls
17
         O
     with Gene Hamilton, according to this memo, he
18
19
     relayed that, "After discussion, DHS really felt)
20
    it was best handled by the Justice Department."
21
            Do you see that?
22
        A
           I see that.
```

Page 185 Why did Mr. Hamilton feel this was best 1 2 handled by the Justice Department? As relayed to me, DHS felt the agency 3 that would most utilize this data was 4 Department of Justice, which was our 5 original conclusion. 6 Q So DHS said they were not going to make 7 8 this request, right? 9 Well, Gene never made a commitment, one 10 way or the other, for the department. He simply 11 directed me back to the other department. It's 12 not an uncommon experience in the federal 13 government. Tell me what's not uncommon in the 14 0 federal government. 15 Being directed to somebody. 16 Your memo then says at that point the 17 O conversation ceased. 18 19 A Correct. 20 O What do you mean by that? 21 A Means that I did not talk to 22 Mary Blanche, James McHenry or Gene Hamilton after

Page 186 that point in time. You didn't, at this point, have a request from the Justice Department, right? That's correct. REDACTED 2.1 

2.1

REDACTED

Page 188

Veritext Legal Solutions

Page 190 was that? 1 2 A call from the Secretary to talk to the Attorney General about whether or not Justice 3 would be interested in a citizenship question. 4 And why was the Secretary talking to the 5 Attorney General about whether or not Justice 6 would be interested in the citizenship question? 7 Again, if -- if the -- if the 8 A 9 Justice Department was not going to request the 10 question, had no use for the information, then 11 that would probably put an end to the citizenship 12 question. 13 O And the Secretary wanted the citizenship 14 question? I think he felt -- well, I don't know 15 what he felt. Yes. He was continuing to explore 16 17 that possibility. 18 REDACTED 19 20 THE WITNESS: I don't know what he felt, 2.1 but he was continuing to explore the possibility. 22 REDACTED

## REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

REDACTED

How did you come to the view before ever 4

talking to DOJ that DOJ should request this

information?

3

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

19

21

Again, if DOJ was the governmental

organization that had questioned the information

on the ACS, then it would stand to reason that

they would be the people that would also be

interested in the information on the decennial,

and they're also the party responsible for

enforcing the voting rights.

And how did you come to the view before

ever talking to DOJ that DOJ had a legitimate need

for the question to be included?

If they enforced the Voting Rights Act --17

if you're going to make a Voting Rights Act case, 18

then they would be the people that would

20 have -- need the information.

And you researched those Voting Rights

22 Act cases or that Voting Rights case on your own?

Page 193 1 Again, I think in doing some basic 2 research on it, it was pointed out there was a 3 case where the Court had said you could -- you would need more granule information to answer this 4 5 question, which would then support a citizenship question. 6 And you told me before that you're not a 7 0 8 voting rights lawyer, right? 9 A Again, what do you mean by a voting 10 rights lawyer? 11 Q Have you ever practiced voting rights law? 12 13 A No. Have you ever tried a voting rights case? 14 0 15 A No. Have you ever advised a client on a 16 17 voting rights matter? 18 A No. 19 Have you ever practiced redistricting 20 law, tried a redistricting case --21 A No. 22 O -- or advised a client on a redistricting

```
Page 194
1
    matter?
2
        A
           No.
           MR. GARDNER: Make sure he finishes his
3
4
    question before you answer.
           THE WITNESS: No.
5
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
6
           Have you ever litigated a case under the
7
        Q
    Voting Rights Act?
8
           No.
9
        A
           Have you ever litigated a redistricting
10
        O
11
    case?
12
           No.
13
    REDACTED
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
2.1
22
```

## REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

Page 196 REDACTED Q -- (in the spring of 2017, were you keeping the Secretary informed of those conversations? (I) might have mentioned them. O In what context would you have mentioned them?

```
Page 197
            Mr. Secretary, I contacted the
1
2
     Justice Department today. I would not have
3
     given -- I mean, there was nothing to report. So
4
     I hadn't made any progress.
            Well, he was frustrated there was no
5
        Q
6
     request yet?
7
        A
            Right.
            So one of the things to report might have
8
        0
9
    been --
10
        A
            That I contacted them, yes.
11
        Q
            Okay. And did you keep Ms. Teramoto
12
     informed during that time period?
13
            Again, I might have. At that time
        A
     period, we operated in bullpens, so we were
14
     all -- there were five people in the same room.
15
     So it's entirely possible I might have mentioned I
16
     was going to the Justice Department or I had
17
18
     spoken with the Justice Department, yes.
19
        O
            I'm sorry. If you were not finished.
20
        A
            Nope.
21
        O
            Who was sitting in the bullpen with you?
22
        A
            Wendy Teramoto, Eric Branstad,
```

```
Page 198
     James Rockas, me, and occasionally Izzy Hernandez.
1
2
            Who is James Rockas?
        0
            He was acting press secretary at the
3
4
    time.
            And who is Izzy Hernandez?
5
        Q
            Israel Hernandez, he was the acting -- or
6
        A
    I'm not sure what his formal title was. I think
7
    he was deputy chief of staff.
8
            And where was the bullpen you referred
9
        Q
10
    to?
11
        A
            It was the -- what is now the chief of
12
    staff.
13
        Q And there were five of you working in the
    office?
14
15
        A
           Correct.
            How long were the five of you working in
16
    that office together?
17
            Maybe nine months.
18
        A
19
           So from January of 2018 through the
20
    end -- strike that.
21
            From January 2017 through the end of
22
    the --
```

	Page 199
1	A No.
2	Qsummer
3	A No. The bullpen was set up, I think, in
4	March through the end of the year.
5	Q Why did you work in a bullpen?
6	A Because that was the form that the
7	Secretary and Ms. Teramoto felt was most
8	effective.
9	
10	REDACTED
11	
12	
13	
14	
15	
16	
17	
18	
19	
20	
21	
22	

## REDACTED

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#### REDACTED

# REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

## REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

Veritext Legal Solutions

2.1

Page 205 REDACTED 1 Okay. And Exhibit 7 is the email 3 exchange with Kris Kobach; is that right? 4 It's an email exchange between 5 Kris Kobach and Wendy Teramoto. 6 And the Secretary, correct, on the second 7 0 8 page? 9 A Yes. Appears to be one to the Secretary 10 on the second page. 11 Q Okay. 12 Though it's blanked out as to who it goes 13 to. If I represent to you that the government 14 15 has represented to us that this was an email to the Secretary and that they've blanked out his 16 name for personal privacy reasons, can we agree 17 that it's an email to the Secretary on July 14th? 18 19 A I'll stipulate to that, yes. 20 And Mr. Gardner will tell me after lunch 21 if that's wrong. 22 The -- so you see that the -- that

```
Page 206
    Mr. Kobach, who identifies himself as the Kansas
1
2
    Secretary of State, emailed the Secretary on
    July 14, 2017, correct?
3
        A Correct.
4
            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Lack of
5
    foundation.
6
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
7
        Q And you'll see that it says I'm following
8
    up on our telephone discussion from a few months
9
10
    ago, correct?
11
            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Lack of
12
    foundation.
13
            THE WITNESS: And you're reading from the
    email. So I have no idea if the email is correct
14
15
    or not.
16
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
        Q Did the Secretary ever tell you that he
17
    spoke to Kris Kobach?
18
19
            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Asked and
20
    answered.
21
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
22
        You can still answer.
```

```
Page 207
         A
1
             No.
2
         0
            Sorry. We were speaking at the same
     time.
3
            I don't recall him ever telling me that
4
     he spoke to Kris Kobach.
5
             This email reads, "As you may recall, we
6
     talked about the fact that the U.S. Census does
7
8
     not currently ask respondents their citizenship."
9
             Do you see that?
10
         A
            I see that.
11
         0
             The email also reads, "It also leads to
     the problem that aliens who do not actually reside
12
13
     in the United States are still counted for
14
     Congressional apportionment purposes."
             Do you see that?
15
             I see that.
16
             Did the Secretary ever tell you he was
17
     concerned about the problem that aliens who do not
18
19
     reside in the United States are still counted for
20
    Congressional apportionment purposes?
21
         A
             He never expressed an opinion on that.
22
         O
            And when the Secretary asked you on
```

Page 208 1 March 10, 2017 about the census and the 2 citizenship question, did he ask you in the context of whether noncitizens should be included 3 4 for Congressional apportionment purposes? He discussed Congressional apportionment 5 6 purposes. If asked were the noncitizens counted, 7 and we answered the question, which is they are 8 counted. 9 0 Well, you testified the link you sent him 10 was the link to the Census Bureau's web page on 11 whether noncitizens are counted for apportionment? 12 That's correct. Well, I don't believe you can find a web page on the Census that doesn't 13 speak to it in that context, whether noncitizens 14 15 are counted other than for apportionment. That's the guestion that we asked. Do we count 16 17 noncitizens? The answer is yes. What is the 18 Census used for? It's used for apportionment. 19 That's its primary function. 20 Q And you'll see that -- going back to the 21 first page of Exhibit 7, Ms. Teramoto has written 22 to Mr. Kobach, "Kris, can you do a call with the

```
Page 209
    Secretary and Izzy tomorrow at 11:00 a.m.?"
1
2
        A
            Correct.
            And that's Izzy Hernandez, correct?
3
            I would believe that's the reference
4
    she's making, yes.
5
            And he's copied at the top of this page,
6
        O
7
    correct?
8
        A
            Yes, he is.
9
        0
            Did you ever discuss with Izzy Hernandez
10
    a call with Mr. Kobach and the Secretary?
11
        A
            I did not.
            Did you ever discuss the citizenship
12
        O
13
    question with Mr. Hernandez, at all?
            I think we discussed it once or twice.
14
        A
           And when were those conversations?
15
        0
            I don't recall exactly.
16
        A
           Was it in the summer of 2017?
17
        Q
18
            It was sometime in the spring/summer of
        A
19
    2017.
20
        Q
            Okay. So you had been working on the
21
    citizenship question for some number of months by
22
    late July of 2017; is that right?
```

# REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

```
Page 213
    REDACTED
 1
2
            Okay. This is an email from the
    Secretary to you on August 8, 2017, and the
3
4
    Secretary asks were you on the call this morning
    about census?
5
            Do you see that?
6
            Uh-huh.
7
        A
           What call is he referring to?
8
        0
           I don't know. I'm not sure I was on it.
9
        A
10
        O
           Okay. Did you hear from anybody about a
11
    call on the census on August 8th?
12
            I have no idea.
            And you'll see that later in the email,
13
    the Secretary says, "Where is the DOJ in their
14
15
    analysis? If they still have not come to a
    conclusion, please let me know your contact person
16
    and I will call the AG. Wilbur Ross."
17
18
            Do you see that?
19
        A
           I see that.
20
           And what analysis is the Secretary
21
    referring to?
22
        A
            Again, this pre-dates the memo I wrote
```

```
Page 214
    outlining my contacts with the DOJ. So this is a
1
2
    question about where are we with the DOJ?
        Q Okay. And you wrote back that evening
3
4
    saying, "We'll be back shortly with an update on
    the census question."
5
        A
6
            Yes.
            I have two attorneys in the DOC's general
7
8
    counsel's office working on it?
9
        A
           Yes.
10
        O
            And you testified one of those two
11
    attorneys was James Uthmeier; is that right?
12
        A
            That's correct.
13
           And who was the other?
        0
           I don't recall.
14
        A
            Okay. Going back to the Secretary's
15
        0
    email where he says, "If they still have not come
16
    to a conclusion, please let me know your contact
17
18
    person and I will call the AG."
19
        A
            Yes.
20
        0
            Did you understand that to mean that the
21
    Secretary was concerned this was not done yet?
22
        A
            He was concerned that we had not made
```

```
Page 215
1
    more progress.
2
        Okay. How did he communicate that
    concern to you?
3
            By saying let me know who your contact
4
    person is and I will call the AG.
5
            This email that you sent in your response
6
        O
    doesn't identify your contact person; is that
7
8
    right?
            That -- well, at least not in the part
9
        A
10
    that's not blacked out.
11
        Q Okay. Do you recall identifying for the
    Secretary before the September 8, 2017 memo who
12
13
    your contact person was at DOJ?
            I might have. I probably would have had
14
    to go back and look and see who I spoke to.
15
        Q Okay.
16
            MR. COLANGELO: Let's mark Document 3984
17
18
    as Exhibit 20.
            (Plaintiffs' Exhibit 20, email, was
19
20
    marked.)
21
            THE WITNESS: Thank you.
22
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
```

```
Page 216
1
        O
            Mr. Comstock, have you seen this email
2
     before?
            It's to me, so, yes.
3
4
        0
            Okay. And this is in further response to
     the Secretary's August 8th question; is that
5
     right?
6
            Would appear to be, yes.
7
        A
8
            Okay. And it says, "Mr. Secretary, we
9
     are preparing a memo and full briefing for you on
10
     the citizenship question. The memo will be ready
11
     by Friday, and we can do the briefing whenever you
     are back in the office."
12
13
            Do you see that?
14
        A
            Yes.
            And at this point, you had not received
15
     any information from the Justice Department; is
16
    that right?
17
18
        A
            That's correct.
19
            Okay. So the memo that you're referring
20
     to is a memo on the citizenship question that
21
    includes no input from DOJ; is that right?
22
        A I -- I don't know. I had not spoken to
```

Page 217 DOJ, no. 1 2 0 You're not aware that anyone else had spoken to DOJ on it? 3 Actually, I believe counsel might have 4 been talking to DOJ, but I don't know who they 5 were talking to. 6 And which counsel is that? 7 0 8 A James Uthmeier. 9 0 And did he tell you he was talking to 10 DOJ? 11 I don't recall. 12 So you're not aware that anybody had been 13 in touch with DOJ in order to get information for this memo going to the Secretary? 14 I -- I'm not sure exactly the contents of 15 the memo to which you're referring, so I don't 16 know if it contained information from DOJ or not. 17 18 And the Secretary responded by saying, "I 19 would like to be briefed on Friday by phone." 20 A Yes. 21 So it's fair to say that this reflects 0 22 the Secretary's continued impatience about getting

Page 218 an answer to his question? I would say he clearly wanted to keep moving forward. REDACTED 2.1 

Page 219

# REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

**REDACTED** 

REDACTED

Page 220

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Veritext Legal Solutions

```
Page 221
            And we just saw an email from a few weeks
1
2
    earlier where Ms. Teramoto says let's keep
3
    Mr. Davidson and Ms. Kelley involved in a
4
    conversation about this, right?
            I wouldn't say keep, but --
5
        A
            Introduce them to this conversation?
6
        0
            Introduce, yes.
7
        A
8
        0
            So to your understanding, this was a
9
    meeting to discuss the citizenship question?
10
        A
            Again, my understanding of this was to
11
    discuss key legal issues regarding the census.
12
        O
            Do you remember this meeting?
13
            Not specifically, no.
        A
14
        0
            Do you remember any meetings with the
    Secretary and with this group on the census?
15
        A
            Again, not specifically, no.
16
            MR. COLANGELO: Okay. Let's have this
17
18
    marked as Exhibit 23. It's Document 2424.
19
            (Plaintiffs' Exhibit 23, Email, was
20
    marked.)
21
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
22
            Do you have Exhibit 23 in front of you,
        0
```

```
Page 222
    Mr. Comstock?
1
2
        A
            I do.
           And do you recognize this document?
3
4
           Again, it's an email from the Secretary
    to me, so presumably I saw it then. There's a lot
5
    blanked out.
6
        Q And you understand that the
7
8
    Justice Department has applied those redactions,
9
    correct?
10
        A
           I do.
11
        And in this email dated September 1,
12
    2017, the Secretary says, "I have received no
    update, nor has there been an updated, " -- blocked
13
     out -- "nor the issue of the census question, nor
14
    whether KDB thinks we have our arms around the
15
    census cost data."
16
            Do you see that?
17
18
        A
           Yes.
19
            And by KDB, do you think he meant KDK?
20
        A
            I believe that would be who he would be
    referring to, yes.
21
22
        O
            Referring to Karen Dunn Kelley?
```

```
Page 223
1
            Yes.
2
            And did you understand this to be a
     request for information on the status of the
3
     citizenship question?
4
             Well, I understood this to be a request
5
     for information on a whole series of information
6
     that were presented in the census.
7
8
         0
             Including the citizenship question?
9
         A
            Including the citizenship. He mentions
10
     that.
11
             And the Secretary is frustrated, right?
         Q
12
         A
             That would appear so, yes.
             He's frustrated because he's asked for it
13
         0
     repeatedly and hasn't seen anything yet telling
14
     him that it's done; is that right?
15
             Well, I would not agree with your
16
     characterization. I think what this memo -- this
17
     email shows is that there were a tremendous number
18
19
     of issues connected to Census. At this time, we
20
     were working a tremendous amount on the lifecycle
21
     cost estimate.
22
             So we -- I mean, we had a huge issue.
```

Page 224 They were \$3 billion -- basically, 25 percent of 1 their budget off, which is a shocking figure --2 REDACTED THE WITNESS: -- that does not inspire 5 confidence in the Census Bureau or its current 6 leadership at the time. So we were dealing with quite a few issues connected with Census, 8 primarily related to the budget, trying to find 9 people to run the Census that we could count on. 10 11 So, yes, citizenship was one small piece 12 of this, but it was by no means the driving piece. 13 REDACTED 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 2.1 22

REDACTED

Page 225

```
Page 226
   REDACTED
2
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
        Q And why would the Secretary have asked
3
    for an update by the next day?
4
            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for
5
6
    speculation.
            THE WITNESS: As I've mentioned before,
7
    we like to get things done. We're not here to do
8
9
    this all year long. So I was asked similar
10
    questions on numerous other issues I was working
11
    on.
12
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
13
          But it's fair to say the Secretary wanted
    an answer quickly?
14
            He always wants an answer quickly.
15
        A
            MR. COLANGELO: Let's mark Document 2395
16
    as Exhibit 25.
17
            (Plaintiffs' Exhibit 25, Email, was
18
19
    marked.)
20
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
          Mr. Comstock, do you have Exhibit 25?
21
        O
22
        A I do.
```

```
Page 227
        0
            Okay. Have you seen this document
1
2
     before?
3
        A
            Yes.
4
        0
            When's the last time you saw it before
    today?
5
            Yesterday counsel pointed it out to me.
6
        A
            And did you review a version yesterday
7
        0
     that was redacted like this or unredacted?
8
9
        A
            I did.
10
        O
            Pardon me?
11
        A
            It was redacted.
           Okay. Like this?
12
        0
13
            Exactly like this.
        A
           And this is an email from Mr. Uthmeier to
14
        0
     you on the evening of September 7th saying, "Earl,
15
    I touched base with Peter, " redacted, "He spoke
16
    with Kassinger this evening."
17
            Do you see that?
18
19
        A
            Yes.
20
        O
            Who is Kassinger?
21
        A
            That would be Ted Kassinger, former
22
     general counsel for the Department of Commerce.
```

```
Page 228
            And where does Mr. Kassinger work now?
1
        0
2
            He works at O'Melveny & Myers.
        A
            A law firm?
3
        0
4
        A
            Correct.
            In Washington?
5
        0
6
        A
            Yes.
            And what did Mr. Davidson and
7
        0
    Mr. Kassinger discuss?
8
            MR. GARDNER: Objection -- sorry.
9
10
    Restate that one more time.
11
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
12
        O
            What did Mr. Davidson and Mr. Kassinger
13
    discuss?
            I don't know.
14
        A
            Did Mr. Davidson tell you what he and
15
        O
    Mr. Kassinger discussed?
16
            Not to my knowledge.
17
        A
            Did Mr. Uthmeier tell you what he and
18
19
    Mr. Kass- -- what Mr. Davidson and Mr. Kassinger
20
    discussed?
21
        A
            Well, it appears he might have, but it's
22
    blanked out.
```

Page 229 And Mr. Kassinger doesn't work for the 1 2 government, correct? Correct. 3 And did not at the time, correct? Correct. I would just observe, based on the all 6 blanked out here, we really have no idea what this 7 email is referring to. It says a Census matter, 8 but it could have been any number of things, 9 10 including the numerous budget issues we were 11 talking about. So let's make clear I don't know 12 what this email was in reference to. 13 REDACTED 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 2.1 22

Page 230 REDACTED 1 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 Okay. So it would also be your 16 17 conclusion that Mr. Davidson and Mr. Kassinger were talking about the citizenship question; is 18 19 that right? 20 No. It would not. 21 Why not? 22 Because I get lots of email that start on

Page 231 one chain that go to another matter. So it's possible, but it's also possible it was discussing something else. REDACTED 2.1 

Page 232 REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

2.1

Page 233

### REDACTED

conversation relayed to you?

Beyond -- beyond the fact that they had

And after the Secretary spoke with the

spoken and that the Attorney General was going to

Attorney General, was the substance of that

look into the matter, no.

REDACTED

Page 234

Page 236

## REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

**REDACTED** 

REDACTED

Page 238

Veritext Legal Solutions

Page 239 Okay. What did you say to the Secretary 1 2 about the December 2017 letter when it came in? Justice Department has requested this, so 3 4 now we can start the formal process. And what formal process are you referring 5 6 to? Well, as I've outlined before, in order 7 8 for the government to take an action, you have to, 9 basically, create a record and make your decision 10 on the basis of that record. So without a request 11 from an agency to ask for the inclusion of 12 citizenship, you were -- this was, basically, a 13 hypothetical question. Okay. But you had told the Secretary in 14 May, we will get the Justice Department to request 15 16 the question? 17 I am going to do everything I can to 18 carry out the Secretary's wishes, if they are 19 legal, and so I will do my best. I can't promise 20 things. 2.1 22

#### REDACTED

### REDACTED

Page 241

## REDACTED

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Page 242 1 REDACTED 5 6 You recall there was a time, 8 March 26, 2018, when the Secretary issued a 9 decisional memorandum regarding his decision to 10 11 add a citizenship question? 12 Yes. 13 You worked on that memorandum? 14 Yes. Okay. Were you the principal drafter? 15 I was one of the principal drafters. 16 17 Who were the other principal drafters? James Uthmeier was the primary other 18 A 19 drafter. 20 Did you have a division of responsibility 21 between the two of you? 22 No. I believe he did the first draft.

```
Page 243
1
           He did the first draft?
2
           Well, the Secretary actually probably
    made -- indicated what he wanted in a draft and
3
    then James would have put it together.
4
5
           And then you would have worked on it
    after James?
6
           Correct.
7
        A
8
    REDACTED
 9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
            And did anyone else work on the draft
22
    besides you, the Secretary and Mr. Uthmeier?
```

Page 245

### REDACTED

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**REDACTED** 

2.1

REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

Page 248 1 Department of Justice, who are our counsel, 2 suggested that a supplemental memorandum was needed. This was not something Department of 3 Commerce generated. This was something the 4 5 Department of Justice, as our counsel, recommended 6 be provided. Following up on that advice, we worked on the document and then had the Secretary sign it. We were following advice of counsel. 8 9 REDACTED 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 2.1 22

Page 250 REDACTED All right. I want to go back to the spring of 2017 when Secretary Ross requests the

```
Page 251
1
     inclusion of a citizenship question on the census.
2
     At that point in time, the Department of Justice
     had made no request to Commerce for the addition
3
     of a citizenship question, correct?
4
            That's correct.
5
            And they certainly hadn't
6
     asked -- withdrawn.
7
8
             The Department of Justice certainly
9
     hadn't asked Commerce to add a citizenship
     question because of the VRA. That's also correct;
10
    isn't it?
11
12
            Well, they didn't ask us to add a
13
     citizenship question at that point. So
     speculating as to why they would ask is
14
15
    irrelevant.
            I'm not asking you to speculate. The one
16
     thing we can be sure of is they didn't ask about
17
18
     the VRA is because they didn't ask at all?
19
        A
            Correct.
20
           All right. And when Secretary Ross says
21
     to you in the spring, in whatever words he used,
22
    that he wants a citizenship question added to the
```

Page 252 1 census, wouldn't you have had a discussion with 2 him at the time about why he wants that? MR. GARDNER: Objection. Asked and answered. THE WITNESS: Again, the answer is no, I 5 would not have a discussion. My boss, if he asked 6 me to investigate something, I investigate it and 7 report back the results. 8 9 REDACTED 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 2.1 22

Page 253 1 REDACTED 3 My question, sir, is: Wouldn't it be 4 helpful to you in your job of assisting the Secretary to have a complete understanding of why 6 the Secretary wants to add a citizenship question? 8 MR. GARDNER: Objection. Form. THE WITNESS: Again, it's not relevant to the question of whether or not he needs -- of 10 11 whether or not a question should be added, so, no. 12 BY MR. GERSCH: 13 Is it your testimony that why he wants a citizenship question to be added is not relevant 14 15 to whether it should be added? Did I -- did I hear that right? 16 17 MR. GARDNER: Objection. Mischaracterizes the witness's prior testimony. 18 19 THE WITNESS: My test- --20 MR. COLANGELO: That's exactly what he 21 said, Counsel. 22 THE WITNESS: No. My testimony is: The

Page 254 1 rationale for why he would want it added is not 2 relevant to my initial inquiry as to whether or not a question can be added. 3 BY MR. GERSCH: 4 Yeah. My question was a little 5 different. The question I am trying to get you to 6 focus on is: In your work for the Secretary, 7 wouldn't it be helpful to you to understand as 8 9 fully as possible why he thinks it's a good idea 10 to add a citizenship question? 11 A And let --12 MR. GARDNER: Objection. Asked and 13 answered. 14 THE WITNESS: And let me get you to understand my answer, which is, no, it would not 15 16 make a difference, because I don't need that 17 information to investigate the question. 18 REDACTED 19 2.0 2.1 22

## REDACTED

# REDACTED

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### REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

### REDACTED

Q And in your time there, did you never see a document analyzing why it was a good idea for Census to add a citizenship question?

A Again, you're -- we have a fundamental disagreement on the premises of your question.

Your premise is that somehow a reason needs to be provided. The question before us is the Secretary has the legal authority to add questions to the census. Is there a governmental need? And if

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11 12

13

\_\_\_

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

REDACTED

It couldn't possibly assist you in your

work, in any way, to know why the Secretary wanted

to add a citizenship question? Do I understand

that correctly?

A It's not relevant to my analysis.

REDACTED

Q Well, that's my question -- withdrawn.

Well, is there any way in which knowing

what the Secretary's reason was for wanting to add

a citizenship question, is there any way that

could assist you in your work at

Department of Commerce?

Assist me on my work at the Department of

Commerce, no.

Q Is there any way that it could help you

Page 261 help the Secretary add a citizenship question? 1 2 If I had found it difficult or challenging, yes. Knowing more about why he 3 wanted it would have been helpful, but I didn't 4 say that there was an issue. It had been asked 5 for hundreds of years, and it had been asked on 6 the ACS. So, clearly, there's a need for it. And 7 so, no, that was not a particularly troublesome 8 9 aspect of the question I was being asked to look 10 into. 11 When you said if I had found it difficult 12 or challenging, what did you mean? What's the it? A If -- if what I had been requested to do 13 seemed to have significant legal obstacles to the 14 ability to do that question or take that action, 15 then I would probably inquire more fully to see if 16 there's an alternative way to address what the 17 Secretary is trying to get to. In this particular 18 19 case, you have something that has been on the 20 decennial census before that is currently being asked on the ACS. There's clear legal authority 21 for him to add the question. So, frankly, the 22

```
Page 262
1
     reasons that he wants to add it doesn't add
 2
     anything to the analysis. There is a governmental
     need for this information. That's a question
 3
     that's already established, so I don't need to
 4
     inquire further as to what his personal beliefs
 5
     regarding this question might be.
 6
            What's the governmental need for the
7
         0
8
     question?
9
         A
            Enforcement to the Voting Rights Act,
10
     determining how many undocumented citizens there
11
     are. You name it, there's a whole bunch of
12
     reasons. That's why every government in the world
13
    collects this information.
            Well, correct me if I'm wrong, we're
14
         0
     talking about at a period in the spring of 2017
15
     when the Voting Rights Act hadn't come up, the
16
     Department of Justice hadn't made a request for
17
18
    it. What does the Voting Rights Act got to do
19
     with it in the spring of 2017?
20
            When you inquire as to what does the
21
    Department of Justice use the citizenship data
22
    on --
```

```
Page 263
            That wasn't my question. My question
1
        0
2
    is --
            I'm answering your --
3
            -- why is it a good idea, why does the
4
     government need it back in the spring of 2017?
5
            Finished with your question?
6
        A
            That's my question.
7
        0
            The answer is for the same reason they've
8
        A
9
    been collecting it for the last 200-plus years.
10
        O
            What's the government need in the spring
11
     of 2017?
12
            I already answered that question. If
13
     they collect the data under the ACS for Voting
     Rights Act enforcement, that is one of the primary
14
     reasons they collect the data.
15
            Okay. It's on the ACS. What's the
16
     need -- governmental need for it to be on the
17
18
     census?
19
             MR. GARDNER: Objection. Asked and
20
     answered.
21
             THE WITNESS: The governmental need is,
22
     again, if you're going to get more detailed
```

information, then you need that information.

### REDACTED

#### REDACTED

Q So you decided on your own in the spring of 2017 that it would be a good idea for the government to have more information than was available from the ACS about citizenship to enforce the Voting Rights Act, even though you're

A I don't agree with that characterization, at all. I decided that there was sufficient information for me to pursue the Secretary's request to consider placing a citizenship question on the decennial census and that there was sufficient potential reason to collect that information to warrant moving forward. If I'd come to an opposite conclusion that there was not sufficient potential reason or that there was some insurmountable legal bar, then I would have

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not a voting rights lawyer?

Page 266 1 reported back to the Secretary, I'm sorry, 2 Mr. Secretary, it does not appear we can 3 accomplish this objective. Why did you need to come up with a reason 4 for asking the question, separate and apart from 5 6 whatever reason the Secretary had in his own head? Again, my job is to figure out how to 7 A 8 carry out what my boss asks me to do. So you go 9 forward and you find a legal rationale. Doesn't 10 matter what his particular personal perspective is 11 on it. It's not -- it's not going to be the basis 12 on which a decision is made. 13 That's your understanding, that the way 14 you should do it, is come up with a rationale that has nothing to do with what's in the Secretary's 15 mind as to why he wants it; is that your 16 understanding of how it's supposed to work? 17 Again, you continue to characterize 18 A No. 19 things in a way that you believe may be correct, 20 but not the way I believe to be correct. My job, 21 as a person who has been doing this for 30-plus 22 years for clients and people in the government, is

```
Page 267
1
     if they would like to accomplish an objective, I
2
     see if there's a way to do that. And, again, if
     it's not legal, you tell them that. If it can't
3
     be done, you tell them that. If there's a way to
 4
     do it, then you help them find the best rationale
5
     to do it. That's what a policy person does.
6
             And so, again, if I came up with a
 7
     rationale that the Secretary didn't agree with or
8
9
     didn't support, then he was going to tell me that.
10
     I have no doubt about that. But in the meantime,
11
     he doesn't -- I don't need to know what his
12
     rationale might be, because it may or may not be
     one that is -- that is something that's going to a
13
14
     legally-valid basis.
             So, again, he's got -- he's asked, can we
15
     put -- can we put a question on? The job of a
16
     policy person is go out and find out how you do
17
     that. Whether that decision is going to be made
18
     ultimately to do it or not, that's up to the
19
20
     decision-maker.
        O
            Are you saying you're better off not
21
     knowing what the Secretary's own rationale is for
22
```

#### REDACTED

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**REDACTED** 

Page 269 REDACTED O All right. So you went -- you called Mary Blanche Hankey --

```
Page 270
        A
            Correct.
1
2
            -- with regard to adding a citizenship
        0
    question to the census, right?
3
        A
4
            Correct.
            And you wanted to see if the
5
        0
    Department of Justice would sponsor the question?
6
            Correct.
7
        A
            And you had a phone call with her, and
8
         0
9
    you had at least a meeting with her, right?
10
        A
            Right.
11
        0
          So at least two contacts?
12
         A
            Three, when she called me back with
13
    somebody else's name.
        O
            Fair enough.
14
            Didn't -- didn't Ms. Hankey say, why do
15
    you want to have a citizenship question?
16
            No, she didn't.
17
        A
18
            Didn't come up, at all?
19
        A
            Nope.
20
        O
            She referred you to a Mr. McHenry; is
21
    that right?
22
        A
            Correct.
```

```
Page 271
        0
            And he's not a voting rights quy, right?
1
2
            I don't actually know what his background
        A
    is.
3
            Well, you went ahead, back and forth with
4
     him over about a month; is that right?
5
             I mean, we spoke on the phone probably
6
        A
     three or four times, yeah.
7
            Going from, I think, the period you
8
        0
9
     mentioned was --
10
        A
            Yeah. It was --
11
           -- early May to early June, roughly?
        Q
            Approximately a month, yeah.
12
        A
13
            And didn't you learn in that time that
        0
14
     he's not a voting rights quy?
        A
15
            No.
            Never came up?
16
            We didn't get into great detail on the
17
        A
18
    rationale.
19
        O
            You did ask him would you sponsor a
20
     census question for -- I'm sorry. Withdrawn.
21
            You did ask Mr. McHenry if he would be
22
    willing to sponsor a request for the addition of a
```

Page 272 1 citizenship question on the census, right? 2 I didn't ask Mr. McHenry if he would. I asked if the Department of Justice would be 3 inclined to send a letter asking us to add the 4 citizenship question. 5 Fair enough. 6 0 And when you did that, you didn't explain 7 8 to Mr. McHenry why the Secretary wanted a 9 citizenship question? 10 A I would have no reason to. 11 And Mr. McHenry never asked, hey, you O 12 want me to do this? Why do you need it? He never 13 asked you that? I think I explained at the outset that 14 the department currently got a report from the ACS 15 on citizenship level -- I mean, on 16 census -- certain census size, Citizen Voting Age 17 18 Population, and if they were to get it from the 19 decennial, that would allow them a greater 20 granularity and would that be useful to them, and he said he would inquire. 21 22 O You asked Mr. McHenry if the

Page 273 Department of Justice would find it useful to have 1 2 more granularity about citizenship? Correct. 3 But at no point did Mr. McHenry say, look, if we want it, we'll ask for it, but how 5 come you want it? Didn't he ask you something 6 like that? 8 No. 9 REDACTED 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 2.1 22

# REDACTED

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Page 275 REDACTED 1 REDACTED 3 THE WITNESS: Again, I already provided 5 the reason for Department of Justice. I said, 6 would it be useful for you to have more granular 7 voting data at the census lock level? He said he 8 would inquire. That answers your question. I'd 9 10 already provided the answer. 11 REDACTED 12 Q Mr. McHenry comes back at some point and 13 he says he's not interested, right, in words or substance? 14 He suggested that I contact the 15 Department of Homeland Security. 16 But I take it he makes it clear to you in 17 some fashion -- withdrawn. 18 19 Let's start with this. What did he say 20 to you? 21 He suggested I talk to the Department of 22 Homeland Security.

```
Page 276
            Did he also say, listen, I don't really
1
2
     need that information, or my quys don't need that
3
     information, or my department doesn't need that
     information or something like that?
4
             MR. GARDNER: Objection to form.
5
             THE WITNESS: Again, no, he did not
6
     indicate that they did not need the information.
7
8
     He simply suggested that they were rather busy and
9
     why don't I talk to the Department of
10
     Homeland Security.
11
     BY MR. GERSCH:
12
            It's your testimony that he said they
13
     were too busy to do it?
             Unfortunately, that's not an uncommon
14
     response from other agencies. They don't
15
     necessarily look for extra work.
16
             Okay. So they were too busy to ask for
17
        Q
18
    it, that's what you understood them to say?
19
        A
            Yeah. Their inclination was they weren't
20
    inclined to do the work, to ask for it, yeah.
21
        O
            Okay. Okay. So Mr. McHenry let's you
22
     know he's not inclined or the department is not
```

```
Page 277
1
     inclined to do the work, to ask for it, and he
2
     refers you to Homeland Security, correct?
            Correct.
3
         A
4
            And you speak to a Mr. Hamilton, right?
            Right.
5
         A
            And Mr. Hamilton, he's not a VRA quy,
6
         0
7
    right?
            I have no idea what his background is.
8
         A
9
         0
            Certainly, it's your understanding that
10
     the Department of Homeland Security has nothing to
    do with enforcing the Voting Rights Act?
11
12
            It would not normally be something I
13
    would think they would do, no.
            And you talked to Mr. Hamilton how many
14
         O
15
    times?
            I don't know, three or four times.
16
            Over what period?
17
         O
18
         A
            Again, two weeks. I don't know.
19
         0
            And don't you say to Mr. Hamilton, here's
20
    why we want the information, here's why we want
21
    you to ask for the citizenship question?
22
         A
            Again, it was the same explanation as I
```

```
Page 278
     gave the Department of Justice. And as you
1
2
     pointed out, DHS doesn't really do that. So I was
     simply following up on the suggestion that
3
     Mr. McHenry had made, and perhaps there was
4
     something that DHS did that I was unaware of that
5
     would have them -- have the need for this
6
7
    information. Turns out they didn't, so back to
8
    Square 1.
9
        0
           Yeah. My question is -- and maybe I
10
     didn't phrase it exactly right.
11
            Did you explain to Mr. McHenry [sic] in
12
     any of these several calls, here's why it's
13
     important to the Department of Commerce, or your
     boss or whomever, here's why it's important
14
    that -- to get a citizenship question added?
15
             MR. GARDNER: I think you mean
16
     Mr. Hamilton. You said Mr. McHenry.
17
18
            MR. GERSCH: Withdrawn. Let me rephrase.
19
    Thank you, Counsel.
20
    BY MR. GERSCH:
            In any of these several calls, you say to
21
        O
    Mr. Hamilton, here's why it's important to
22
```

```
Page 279
1
     Department of Commerce to have you folks request
2
     the addition of a citizenship question.
            No. I never explained that to him.
3
            And is it your testimony that in your
4
     several conversations with Mr. Hamilton, he never
5
6
     says, hey, why do you want this?
            That's correct.
7
        A
8
            He never says, why do you want a
9
    citizenship question added?
10
        A
            Again, when somebody calls up and says --
11
     my boss, you know, Secretary Ross, AG Sessions,
12
     whomever has asked us to pursue this, I don't
13
     typically question back and say, well, why do you
     think -- does your boss think this is needed? I
14
     just don't do that. It's kind of discourteous to
15
     other staff. So no, he took me at face value.
16
     I'm calling to inquire, would they find this
17
18
     useful? He gets back to me, no.
19
        Q I just want to make sure I caught part of
20
     what you're saying correctly.
21
             Are you saying it would have been
22
     discourteous for Mr. Hamilton at Homeland Security
```

```
Page 280
1
     to say, hey, why do you quys at Commerce want us
2
    to ask for a citizenship question?
        A For him to challenge why my boss might
3
4
    ask for it.
            I didn't say challenge.
5
            Is it your testimony it would be
6
     discourteous for him to say, hey, you're asking me
7
8
    to do something --
9
        A
            Uh-huh.
10
        O
            -- something which involves some work --
11
        A
            Uh-huh.
12
           -- would you just explain to me why it's
13
     important for you to have me ask for a citizenship
14
    question?
15
            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Form.
            THE WITNESS: No such conversation
16
17
    occurred.
18
    BY MR. GERSCH:
19
        O
            Yeah. My question is: Would that have
    been discourteous for him to say that to you?
20
21
        A
            Depends on how he phrased it.
22
        O
            He could have phrased it in a way that
```

	Page 281
1	was properly respectful, right?
2	Theoretically, yes.
3	Q In the time that you were dealing with
4	Mr. McHenry or getting ready to deal with
5	Mr. McHenry this is back at the Justice
6	Department now did you ever learn that he was
7	director of the Executive Office of Immigration
8	Review?
9	A I never learned that, no.
10	Q How about Ms. Hankey, did she say why she
11	was going to refer you to Mr. McHenry?  No, she didn't.
<ul><li>12</li><li>13</li></ul>	<ul><li>(A) (No, she didn't.)</li><li>(Q) (Is it common for you to call people like)</li></ul>
14	Mr. McHenry without knowing what their position
15	is?
16	A Certainly at that time, yes.
17	Q What was it about that time?
18	(A) Well, it was shortly into the
19	administration, and titles are not necessarily
20	informative of what people do, so
21	Q Did you have an understanding of what
22	Mr. McHenry's portfolio was, independent of his

```
Page 282
     title?
1
2
         A
             No.
             About what his expertise was independent
3
     of his title?
4
         A
            No.
5
            You didn't know -- withdrawn.
6
         0
             You're trying to accomplish something for
7
     your boss, right?
8
9
         A
            Correct.
10
         O
             And you're calling another agency and
11
     you're going to ask them to do some work, right?
12
         A
             Right.
13
             And you know from your vast experience
     that sometimes people just say no because they
14
15
    just don't want to do the work, right?
             Correct.
16
             That's not uncommon, right?
17
         O
           It's been my experience.
18
         A
19
         0
            So in order to have the best possible
20
     chance of persuading a person like Mr. McHenry,
21
     don't you want to do a little research beforehand?
22
         A
             Again, I was dealing with, literally,
```

```
Page 283
1
     hundreds of issue, as well as clearing
2
     correspondence, clearing Federal Register notices,
     no. I did not have time to research this quy's
3
4
     background. That's why I went through
     Eric Branstad to say, hey, get me somebody over at
5
6
     DOJ who I can talk to. (I want to Hankey -- and I)
     don't know her from Adam, but relying on the fact
7
8
     that she was recommended by folks over at the
9
     White House as somebody who was connected with
10
     AG Sessions, I'm assuming she's going to steer me
11
     in the right direction. So I take on faith who
12
     she suggested I talked to. Turned out they
13
     weren't the right person, so we didn't get
14
     anywhere.
            Did you have an assistant during this
15
         O
16
    period?
17
         A
            No.
18
            Any staff?
19
         A
            I had my OPSP staff.
20
         O
            Who's that?
21
         A
            Office of Policy and Strategic Planning.
22
    They were the detailees I discussed earlier.
```

```
Page 284
        0
1
            Got it.
2
            You couldn't ask one of them, hey, I'm
     supposed to have a call with Mr. McHenry, can one
3
4
     of you figure out what he is and why --
5
        A
            No.
            Excuse me. I got to -- just a second.
6
        0
7
     I've got to finish the question. You can answer
8
    it any way you want.
9
            Didn't you want to call -- talk to one of
10
     your staff people and say, listen, I got a call
11
     with Mr. McHenry, I got to persuade him to do some
12
     work he's not going to want to do, to help out our
13
     boss, Mr. Ross, Secretary Ross, and can one of
     your look up and tell me who he is and what levers
14
     we might be able to pull to persuade him to do
15
     this work for us?
16
            MR. GARDNER: Objection.
17
18
     BY MR. GERSCH:
19
        O
           You didn't want to ask someone on your
20
    staff to do some work like that for you?
21
            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Form.
22
            THE WITNESS: Again, that's a view of
```

```
Page 285
1
     both the workload I was under and the workload
2
     that they're under that I think is misinformed.
             In fact, several of my calls with
3
4
     Mr. McHenry were made while I was driving into
     work, so there was no opportunity to call somebody
5
6
     and do that research.
            And, besides, this wasn't about getting
7
8
     leverage on Mr. McHenry. This was simply to
9
     ask -- following up on the person I'd been
10
     directed to, who, based on the fact that it was
11
     recommended by an assistant to the AG, I'm
12
     assuming is going to at least be somewhat
13
     receptive. Probably an error on my part, but
     that's -- I've got a dozen other things I'm
14
     dealing with at the same time. So, no, I'm not
15
     going to spend a lot of time researching this guy.
16
17
     BY MR. GERSCH:
18
        Q You didn't spend any time researching
19
    this guy?
20
        A
            Correct. I didn't.
21
           Secretary Ross certainly knows why he
        O
22
    wanted a citizenship question back in the spring
```

```
Page 286
    of 2017, right?
1
2
        A You'd have to ask him.
        Q Is there anyone besides Secretary Ross
3
    who we could go to who would have that
4
    information?
5
            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Lack of
6
    foundation. Calls for speculation.
7
8
            THE WITNESS: [I'm not aware of anybody.]
9
    BY MR. GERSCH:
10
        O
            Do you have any reason to believe that
11
    Secretary Ross's rationale for wanting to add a
12
    citizenship question is some kind of supersecret?
13
        A
            No.
            Doesn't involve national security, right?
14
        O
            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Lack of
15
    foundation. Calls for speculation.
16
            THE WITNESS: I don't know what the
17
    Secretary's rationale is. You'd have to ask him.
18
19
    BY MR. GERSCH:
        Q But you don't think it involves national
20
21
    security?
22
            MR. GARDNER: Same objections.
```

```
Page 287
            THE WITNESS: I'm not going to speculate
1
2
    on that.
    BY MR. GERSCH:
3
            You heard about this suit back when it
4
    was filed, right, this lawsuit?
5
            Yeah.
6
        A
            Okay. And there's several lawsuits,
7
        0
8
    right?
9
        A
            Lost count, but yes.
10
        O
            And you've known that you were going to
11
    sit for a deposition for a while, also?
12
        A
            Maybe for two weeks or so.
13
            Okay. Well, at any time since these
        0
    lawsuits started to get filed, did you have a
14
15
    discussion with anyone about why it is the
    Secretary wanted a citizenship question added?
16
17
        A
            No.
18
        O
            Secretary Ross gave Congressional
19
    testimony in March of 2018 in advance of his
    decisional memorandum. Do you remember that?
20
21
        A
            I'll take your word for it.
22
        0
            Testified before committees of both --
```

```
Page 288
1
     both House, right?
2
            Again, I'd have to look at a calendar to
     refresh my memory as to when he testified. But,
3
4
     yes, he testified to Congress during the course of
    the year.
5
           Fair enough.
6
        0
7
             And he was asked questions about a
8
    citizenship question?
9
        A
            I believe that's correct.
10
        O
            Who prepared him to testify on that
11
     subject?
12
            He -- he does a lot of his own hearing
13
     prep, but we would have -- I would have been
     involved, as well as James Uthmeier,
14
     Peter Davidson, of course, Karen Dunn Kelley. I
15
     mean, this was not a hearing specifically on the
16
     citizenship question, so we mostly would have been
17
18
     preparing for the broad range of questions on
19
     whatever the topic was. We were going up and
20
    testifying on the steel tariffs. We were going up
     and testifying on the lifecycle cost estimate, a
21
22
    whole series of things, so --
```

Page 289 Sure. You want to get him prepped on 1 2 everything, though, right? 3 A Yeah. And one of the things that you 4 anticipated would come up was the question about 5 the citizenship question, right? 6 A Seems reasonable if that was the time 7 8 frame, yes. 9 0 And were you the one who worked with 10 Secretary Ross on how he was going to answer those 11 questions? 12 I would have been one of the people, yes. 13 Was there a division of responsibility 0 between the folks you mentioned just a minute ago, 14 the people who helped prepare him? 15 Not per se. I think he's fairly open to 16 suggestions from staff of what to consider. So if 17 18 somebody had an idea, he would consider it. 19 Did you tell the Secretary, listen, you 20 can expect that someone is going to ask whether -- whether you're going to add a 21 22 citizenship question? Did you have that

```
Page 290
1
     discussion with him? That would have been normal,
2
     right?
        A Well, again, if this is in the time
3
4
     period after we received the DOJ letter and while
     he was considering making his decision, then, yes,
5
     we might have anticipated. But the answer would
6
     have been fairly straightforward, which is we have
7
8
     that matter under review, and I'm considering
9
     all -- all information. So there would have been
10
     very little we're prepping for on that.
11
        Q Didn't you discuss with the
12
     Secretary -- withdrawn.
13
            First of all, I'll represent that he
     did -- the Secretary did, in fact, testify before
14
     multiple committees after the
15
     Department of Justice request came in in December
16
     of 2017 and before the issuance of the March
17
    decisional memorandum.
18
19
        A
            Okay.
20
            And my question to you is: In those
21
     discussions that you had with the Secretary to
22
     prepare him, wasn't it discussed whether the
```

Page 291 1 Secretary was going to reveal the reasons he had 2 wanted to the addition of a citizenship question? No. 3 A Subject never came up? Never came up. Didn't it come up whether the Secretary 6 would reveal that the reason that Commerce had 7 received a request from DOJ to add a citizenship 8 question is because Commerce had gone to DOJ and 9 10 asked DOJ to make that request? 11 A No. 12 Never came up? 13 Never came up. 14 REDACTED 15 16 17 18 19 20 2.1 22

## REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

### REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

**REDACTED** 

## REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

#### REDACTED

transcript, but presuming your person transcribed

this correctly, that appears to be what I said.

Q And this squares with your memory of what

you said, right?

A Correct.

#### REDACTED

## REDACTED

6

5

1

7

8

9

10

11 12

13

14

15

16

17

18 19

20

21

22

O

0 Sure. But the reason the

Department of Justice made this request of the

Department of Commerce was that the Department of

Commerce went to the Justice Department and said,

will you please make this request of us, right?

We asked them if they could use this A

information. That was an independent decision on

their part.

You asked them if they could use

information from a citizenship question, right?

At the block level, which is not

currently available.

And you asked them if they would be

willing to request that from the

Page 297 Department of Justice [sic]? 1 If that was information that they found 2 A useful, then they could request it, yes. 3 4 0 You asked them to request it from the Department of Justice, correct? 5 Again, what we asked them was if they 6 could use this information, and if so, then they 7 would need to request it. 8 9 Do you deny that you personally went to representatives in the Department of Justice and 10 11 asked them if they would request the addition of a citizenship question? 12 13 MR. GARDNER: Objection. Asked and 14 answered. 15 THE WITNESS: To answer, once again, I went to representatives of the 16 17 Department of Justice and asked them if this would 18 be information that they would find useful, and if 19 so, they could request it. 20 REDACTED 2.1 22

Page 298 REDACTED 1 Didn't you say to the 2 Department of Justice when you were talking to them, in words or substance, we would appreciate it if you would ask us to include a citizenship question? 6 I never made such a request. 8 REDACTED 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 2.1 22

# REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

1

#### REDACTED

When Representative Norton asks you the 3 why question, don't you think it's responsive to 4 the why question that the Secretary of Commerce wanted to add a citizenship question independent 6 7 of the Department of Justice's request? 8 A No. I don't think it's relevant. His 9 decisional memo laid out very clearly the 10 rationale that was the basis of his decision. 11 Whatever his personal feelings may have been are 12 irrelevant to that decision. 13 It laid out a rationale. We can agree on 14 that, right? That's what he's required to do under the 15 law, is lay out a rationale. That is the 16 rationale for his decision and that's what he's 17 18 standing on. 19 Okay. He laid out a rationale. Is it 20 your understanding, under the law, that if the 21 rationale is not his real reason for doing it, we 22 should ignore the real reason, and we should only

Page 301 focus on the pretextual reasons that he offers up? 1 2 REDACTED 3 THE WITNESS: The Secretary's decision 4 memo lays out a valid reason that's consigned to 5 6 his discretion under the law, and that is the rationale he provided to staff, and that is the 7 8 rationale that we placed in the record. So that 9 is his reason for having the question. 10 BY MR. GERSCH: 11 My question is a little different. If 12 the Secretary's real rationale is something 13 different than the rationale he lays out in his decisional memo, is it your understanding, under 14 the law, that we're to ignore the real reason and 15 only focus on what's in the decisional memorandum? 16 MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for a 17 18 legal decision. 19 THE WITNESS: Your hypothetical is 20 premised on the false conclusion that there is some illegal rationale that would be provided and 21 22 be exposed and be referenced. There is none.

Page 302 1 It's committed to his discretion to add a 2 question, as long as you make it through the other things, Paperwork Production Act, et cetera. So 3 it's -- I don't understand the basis for your 4 question. But there's -- at the base of your 5 question is this hypothetical that there's some 6 supposed illegal reason that would be -- that 7 8 would nullify a perfectly valid decision. [I don't] 9 agree with that assessment. 10 BY MR. GERSCH: 11 Mr. Comstock, I want you to listen to my Q 12 question carefully, because there was no reference 13 to any illegal rationale, and I'm going to put it to you again and there will be no reference to an 14 illegal rationale. And my only question -- and, 15 by the way, I'm happy if you want to take this as 16 17 a hypothetical. 18 My only question is: If the Secretary 19 lays out a rationale in his decisional memorandum 20 which is different than his real rationale, is it your understanding that we're supposed to ignore 21 22 the real rationale and only focus on what's in the

```
Page 303
1
    decision memo?
2
            MR. GARDNER: Given your introductory
    clause, objection. Calls for a hypothetical.
3
4
    Objection. Calls for a legal conclusion.
            THE WITNESS: Again, a decision is valid
5
    if a valid reason has been spelled out, and that
6
    is what we did.
7
8
    BY MR. GERSCH:
9
        Q Could you answer my question?
10
        A
            Again, I don't accept the premise of your
11
    question, which is that there's some other reason
12
    besides what was provided in the memo.
13
        Q It's a hypothetical question, sir. The
    question is --
14
            I'm not going to answer a hypothetical on
15
    that basis.
16
            I'm asking you to answer it, and you're
17
18
    here to answer questions, and I think I'm fairly
19
    following up on your testimony.
20
            My question to you is real simple: If
21
    the Secretary lays out a rationale in his
22
    decisional memorandum and it's not his real
```

```
Page 304
     rationale, is it your understanding that what
1
2
     we're supposed to focus on is what's in the
    decisional memorandum and we're not supposed to
3
    look at the rationale?
4
            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for
5
     hypothetical. Objection. Calls for legal
6
    conclusion.
7
8
            THE WITNESS: Again, we're at loggerheads
9
    here because you keep spelling out something that
10
    is -- that presupposes there is some other
11
    rationale that would be sufficient to outweigh a
12
    legitimate rationale and, therefore, must be
13
     noticed and taken care of. I mean, the government
     makes decisions all the time and spells out a
14
     rationale. Do some of decision-makers have,
15
    perhaps, other reasons, maybe, but it's not
16
    relevant to the legal analysis.
17
18
        Q We shouldn't know what Secretary --
19
    withdrawn.
20
            We shouldn't know what the real rationale
21
    is; is that testimony?
22
        A
           I --
```

```
Page 305
            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for a
1
2
    legal conclusion.
            THE WITNESS: Again, I have no reason to
3
     believe that the rationale is anything other than
4
     what's in the memo.
5
6
     BY MR. GERSCH:
        Q Well, sir, actually, you testified
7
8
     previously that the Secretary had a rationale for
9
     asking this question, which he didn't reveal to
10
     you and had nothing to do with the
11
     Department of Justice's request.
12
            I disagree with that statement.
13
            Let's try this one other way. You don't
     disagree with the proposition that a
14
     decision-maker could have a rationale that is
15
     different than what he chooses to spell out in his
16
    decisional memorandum, right?
17
18
            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for
19
     hypothetical.
20
            THE WITNESS: Again, I don't know -- I
21
     don't -- it's impossible to answer that question,
22
     because you -- I'm not sure where you're going
```

```
Page 306
    with it.
1
2
    BY MR. GERSCH:
        Q I'm not asking you to know where I'm
3
4
    going with it. I'm asking you to answer the
    question. I'll put it to you again.
5
            You don't disagree with the proposition
6
    that it's possible for the decision-maker to have
7
8
    one rationale which he puts in the decisional
9
    memorandum and a completely different rationale
10
    which is the real reason he wants the decision
11
    done?
12
            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for a
13
    hypothetical.
            THE WITNESS: Again, in the context we're
14
    dealing with, I don't agree with that statement.
15
16
    BY MR. GERSCH:
        It's not possible for that to happen,
17
18
    it's not possible for the decision-maker to put
19
    one rationale in the decisional memo and have a
20
    completely different rationale for why he wants
21
    the decision?
22
            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for a
```

```
Page 307
1
    hypothetical.
2
            THE WITNESS: In my experience with the
3
    federal government service across 30 years, both
    Democrat and Republican, I'm not aware of
4
    decision-makers who would do such a thing.
5
    BY MR. GERSCH:
6
        Q This would never happen, in your view,
7
8
    right?
9
        A
            I'm not going to use the word never.
10
    Clearly, in the course of human history, things
11
    like that do happen. That's not been my
    experience that it generally is the case.
12
13
            That's fine. Put aside your experience.
        Q
    I'm just asking you conceptually, you don't have
14
15
    difficulty understanding that a decision-maker
    could say I'm doing this for one reason without
16
    revealing that he is actually doing it for a
17
    different reason. You understand that concept,
18
19
    right?
20
            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for a
21
    hypothetical.
22
            THE WITNESS: Yeah. It's a hypothetical
```

Page 308 to which the answer is always going to be yes. So 1 2 to the extent that makes you happy, sure. BY MR. GERSCH: 3 Okay. So you do understand that concept. 4 5 So when that occurs, when it is the case that the decision-maker puts forth a stated rationale, 6 which is, in fact, not his real rationale, is it 7 your understanding that we should pay no attention 8 9 to his real rationale and focus only on his stated 10 rationale? 11 MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for hypothetical objection. Calls for a legal 12 13 conclusion. THE WITNESS: I'm not going to answer 14 15 that question. 16 REDACTED 17 18 19 20 2.1 22

1

2

J

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

22

REDACTED

After the Department of Justice made

their formal request for the addition of a

citizenship question in December of 2017, you

understand that the Census Bureau did some

analysis with respect to that request, right?

A Correct.

Q All right. And one of the things that

the Census Bureau produced is a document that's

been marked Exhibit 28.

A Okay.

Q Is that fair to say?

A It appears to be a memo from John Abowd

to the Secretary, so will -- oh, it's marked

draft, so --

Q Dated January 19, 2018, as you say, from

John Abowd, Chief Scientist at the Census Bureau,

```
Page 310
1
    to Secretary Ross through Karen Dunn Kelley.
2
            You've seen this before, haven't you?
            I don't know that I've seen this
3
4
    particular draft. It's marked draft, so I don't
    know that this document ever made it up to the
5
6
    Secretary's office.
            Did you see a form of this document,
7
        Q
8
    whether it was this one or not?
9
        A
            I saw some form of this document, yes.
10
        O
            I want to direct your attention to the
11
    one, two, three -- third full paragraph, last
12
    sentence, and in it Mr. Abowd addresses
    Alternative B -- and, by the way, you understand
13
    Alternative B is adding a citizenship question to
14
15
    the census, right?
            That appears to be what the memo says,
16
17
    yeah.
18
         0
            So what Mr. Abowd reports is
19
    Alternative B -- that is adding a citizenship
20
    question -- is, quote, very costly, harms the
21
    quality of the census count, and would use
22
    substantially-less active citizenship status data
```

```
Page 311
     that are available from administrative sources.
1
2
            You knew that that is what the
     Census Bureau had concluded, right?
3
           Well, again, that's a -- this is a draft
4
     pre-decisional memo. So I'm not sure if this was
5
    the final document that was sent to us or not.
6
        Q I'll represent to you that this
7
8
    is -- that the record made in this case so far is
9
    that this is the last draft produced. Does that
10
    help you --
11
           Is that -- okay.
12
        Q I'm happy if you want to consult with
13
    your counsel.
            MR. GARDNER: If you -- you can answer
14
15
    the question, yes.
            THE WITNESS: Sure. Assuming this is the
16
    final version, then that's what the document says,
17
18
    yes.
19
    BY MR. GERSCH:
20
        Q That's not my question. You came to
    understand, isn't that right, that the view of the
21
22
    Census Bureau was that asking the citizenship
```

```
Page 312
     question is very costly, harms the quality of the
1
2
     census count and would use substantially-less
     citizenship status than are available from
3
4
     administrative sources?
            I would agree that that's the summary
5
     statement here. That it overstates the case they
6
     made further in the document. But that is not an
7
8
     accurate representation of what's actually
9
    reflected in the document.
10
        I want to make sure I understand your
11
    testimony. You're saying you disagree with their
12
    conclusion?
13
            I disagree with that characterization as
    being the final conclusion of the Census Bureau,
14
15
    yes.
            Ah. Okay. So you think that what I just
16
    read to you doesn't fairly reflect the view of the
17
18
    Census Bureau; is that right?
19
            I think that reflects the view of
20
    Dr. Abowd and that it's very imprecisely stated.
21
    If you read the rest of the memo, it provides more
22
    detail, and so I would not agree with the
```

```
Page 313
1
     statement, because it's not backed up in the
2
     document that it would be very costly. That's a
     relative term. And that it would use
3
     substantially-less accurate, I disagree with those
4
     statements.
5
            Yeah. I understand, and I stipulate that
6
        0
     you disagree with them. My question is a little
7
8
     different. I'm asking if you understand this is
9
     the position of the Census Bureau, whether you
10
     agree with it or not, and I stipulate that you
11
    don't.
12
            And just, again, I'm being very clear
13
     that this sentence taken out of context, I would
14
     say is not the position of the Census Bureau. The
     position of the Census Bureau is reflected in this
15
     full memo, which provides greater detail, which is
16
17
     not, I would say, accurately characterized in this
18
     summary statement at the front.
19
        O
            Did you ever meet with the folks at the
20
    Census Bureau about this analysis?
21
        A
            Yes, we did.
            Okay. When did you do that?
22
        O
```

```
Page 314
            I couldn't tell you the exact date.
1
        A
2
        0
            Who did you meet with?
            Dr. Abowd, Dr. Jarmin. It was a large
3
        A
4
    meeting.
            And Dr. Abowd and Dr. Jarmin, they stood
5
        0
    by this analysis, right, the analysis in
6
7
    Exhibit 28?
8
        A
            I'd say that, yeah, they stood by the
9
    entire analysis, not necessarily that statement.
10
        O
            And the entire analysis includes the
11
    statement that I read to you, right?
12
        A
            Again, you're -- I think you're taking a
13
    single statement out of context.
            My question is a little different. I'm
14
        O
    saying when you said, they stood by the entire
15
    analysis, that includes the statement that I read
16
17
    you?
18
        A
            And, again, I will say that I think
19
    you're trying to get me to say that particular
20
    statement represents the view of the
21
    Census Bureau, and that is not my understanding.
22
        Q Okay. When you say it's not your
```

```
Page 315
1
     understanding, at no point did Dr. Jarmin or
2
     Dr. Abowd say, no, we don't believe that
     Alternative B is very costly, harms the quality of
3
4
     the census count and would use substantially-less
     accurate citizenship status data that are
5
     available from administration sources; isn't that
6
    right? They never took it back?
7
8
         A
            We never asked them to take it back.
9
         0
            And they never did?
10
         A
            I don't know if they took it back or not.
11
         Q
            In your presence, sir.
12
         A
             Again, they were never asked, to my
13
     knowledge, to take that statement back, so there
     would be no reason for them to take it back.
14
            And they didn't take it back, did they?
15
         O
            I don't know whether they took it back.
16
            In your presence, they didn't take it
17
         O
18
     back?
19
         A
            Again, I look at their entire memo, not
20
    that statement.
21
            I'm not asking that question. They
         O
22
     didn't take this statement back that I just read
```

```
Page 316
    to you three times?
1
2
        A Again, my point is, they were never asked
    to take it back, so there would be no reason for
3
4
    them to take it back.
        Q I just want there to be no
5
    misunderstanding, Mr. Abowd [sic], if at trial)
6
    you're going to say they took it back, I want to
7
8
    hear that right now.
9
            MR. GARDNER: He's not Mr. Abowd.
10
    BY MR. GERSCH:
11
        Q I'm sorry, Mr. Comstock. It's late in
12
    the day.
13
            Mr. Comstock, if you're going to say at
    trial that Dr. Abowd or Dr. Jarmin took this
14
    statement back, I want to hear that right now.
15
    Can we agree on that, that you'll tell me right
16
17
    now?
        A I will agree -- I will agree that I would
18
19
    say that is not representative of the data that
20
    was presented to us in the course of extensive
    discussions. That that statement is an early
21
22
    statement that mischaracterizes the final
```

```
Page 317
     conclusions that we understood.
1
2
            When you say earlier, it's the statement
     as of the January 19th memo, you don't disagree
3
4
     with that?
            Again, I'm not contesting they provided
5
     this investigation.
6
            Focus on timing. You said this was an
7
8
     early statement and you don't think it was
9
    reflective of their final conclusions.
10
             My question is: You're not saying it
11
     doesn't reflect their position as of January 19th,
12
     are you?
13
        A I am saying, again, that I think you're
     taking a single statement out of context and
14
     trying to represent it has the position of the
15
    Bureau as conclusive, and I'm saying I disagree
16
    with that statement.
17
        Q Let me show you -- let's mark this as
18
19
     Exhibit 29.
20
            (Plaintiffs' Exhibit 29, Memo, was
21
    marked.)
22
    BY MR. GERSCH:
```

```
Page 318
            You see what's been marked as Comstock
1
2
     Exhibit 29, it is a March 1, 2018 memo from
3
    Dr. Abowd for Secretary Ross, Bates stamp first
4
    Page 001308.
5
            Do you have that in front of you?
6
        A
            I do.
            Have you seen this document before?
7
            I believe I've seen this document.
8
        A
9
        0
            Okay. And this document relates to an
10
    Alternative D, right?
11
        A
            Correct. But I'll note, again, it's
12
     marked draft, and I'm just mystified as to why we
13
    keep getting draft documents as opposed to finals.
    Certainly draft documents don't normally come to
14
15
    us.
            MR. WALSH: Counsel, would it be possible
16
    to hand out --
17
18
             MR. GERSCH: Oh, I'm sorry.
19
            MR. WALSH: Thanks.
20
    BY MR. GERSCH:
21
        O
           This is about Alternative D; is that
22
    right?
```

Page 319 That's correct. But I'm still asking a 1 2 question, why am I getting a draft version of this instead of a final? 3 I don't get to testify. All I can do is 4 ask the questions. 5 And Alternative D was the idea of 6 Secretary Ross, that perhaps you could combine 7 8 Alternative B, which is asking the citizenship 9 question of every household in the decennial 10 census, and Alternative C, which was don't ask the 11 question but use administration data to figure out 12 citizenship status, correct? 13 A Correct. 14 And at the back of this memo, the last sentence says, "In sum, Alternative D would result 15 in poorer quality citizenship data than 16 Alternative C. It would still have all the 17 18 negative cost and quality implications of 19 Alternative B outlined in the draft January 19th 20 memo to the Department of Commerce." 21 You saw this at the time, right? A Again, I can't say that this was the 22

Page 320 1 document I saw, because I did not see something 2 marked draft pre-decisional V10. You think you saw a version of it that 3 0 4 didn't have draft on it? I have no idea. But we don't typically 5 see documents that say draft. 6 I'll represent that we've never seen a 7 0 8 version of either of these documents that aren't 9 marked draft. If there is one -- if there are 10 versions, I would like them right now. 11 MR. GARDNER: I represent we've produced 12 what we have. 13 BY MR. GERSCH: Regardless of the format, you became 14 acquainted with the views of Census that 15 Alternative B would result in poorer quality 16 citizenship data than Alternative C and still have 17 18 all the cost and quality implications of Alternative B outlined in the draft January 19th 19 20 memo to the Department of Commerce; you became acquainted with that conclusion of theirs, right? 21 22 A I did.

```
Page 321
        Q Okay. By the way, you'll notice it
1
2
     says -- this refers to the January 19th memo as
3
     being a draft.
            Okay. Like I said --
4
        A
            Do you see that?
5
            I see it. That it says that, yes.
6
        A
     Perhaps that is what they provided to us. I don't
7
8
     know. We produced whatever is in the record, so
9
    if this is what's in the record -- as long as I'm
10
    being given the final version, then okay.
11
        Q
            All right. You're not saying that the
12
     Census Bureau took back the conclusion reflected
13
     in this last paragraph that I've read you from
     Exhibit 29, are you?
14
            Again, I think there was iterative
15
        A
     exchange in which the conclusions of the
16
     Census Bureau to staff and some of their
17
18
     assertions did not hold up under
19
    cross-examination.
20
           Whether you think they held up or not, my
21
     question to you is: Did the Census Bureau ever
22
    take back the conclusion that's in the last
```

```
Page 322
    paragraph of this March 1 memo?
1
2
            You'd have to ask them.
        A
            In your presence, did they say any such
3
        0
4
    thing?
        A
            I didn't ask them to take it back.
5
            I'm not asking whether you asked them.
6
        0
    I'm asking -- withdrawn.
7
            There were other people in the meeting
8
9
    besides you, right?
10
        A
            There were a series of meetings, so --
11
        0
            How many meetings did you have about this
    memo, this March 1 memo?
12
            I couldn't tell you.
13
        A
           About?
14
        0
            Might have met once or twice. I really
15
        A
    couldn't tell you.
16
            And who did you remember being there
17
        O
    besides Dr. Abowd and Dr. Jarmin?
18
19
        A
            Again, I don't know if it was
20
    specifically on this memo or this presentation or
    whether they sent it to us. There were multiple
21
22
    meetings on the question. Who was at each
```

```
Page 323
     meeting, I couldn't tell you.
1
2
            I think it would be fair to say there
     were multiple meetings about Census Bureau's
3
4
     analysis of the citizenship question, right?
5
           Yes.
            Okay. And what's your best recollection
6
     of how many meetings there were?
7
8
        A
            I don't know. Two or three.
9
           And if this memo is dated March 1 and the
10
     decisional memo is dated March 26th. What's your
11
    best recollection about when the last -- the last
12
    meeting was, the last of these two or three
13
    meetings?
14
            Probably somewhere in the vicinity of
15
    March 20th.
            Okay. And my question simply to you is,
16
17
     sir: Did the Census Bureau people ever say we're
18
    taking it back, you've convinced us, we don't
19
    agree with the conclusion we put forth in the last
20
    paragraph?
21
            No.
     REDACTED
22
```

# REDACTED

Q Did you ever have any analysis of the citizenship question prepared by experts other than the folks at the Census Bureau?

A Not that I know of, no.

Q Did you ever get any input from somebody with technical expertise with respect to the census Bureau's analysis of the citizenship question who was not from the Census Bureau?

```
Page 325
1
        A
            No.
2
            Did anyone review the Census Bureau's
        0
    analysis of what was wrong with the citizenship
3
    question who was not a lawyer?
4
5
        A
            The Secretary.
            Other than the Secretary?
6
        0
            Karen Dunn Kelley.
7
        A
            Other than the Secretary and Karen Dunn
8
        O
9
    Kelley?
10
        A
            Obviously, Dr. Jarmin, Dr. Abowd.
11
        Q
            I'm talking about people outside the
12
    Census Bureau.
13
        A
            Census Bureau.
            Well, let's see -- well, Wendy Teramoto
14
15
    might have. But, no, primarily would have been
    Office of General Counsel doing the review.
16
            And you?
17
        Q
18
        A
            And me.
19
        O
            And you're a lawyer?
20
        A
            Yes, I am a lawyer.
21
            All right. Let's mark the decisional
        O
22
    memorandum as Exhibit 30.
```

# REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

**REDACTED** 

### REDACTED

#### REDACTED

-

Veritext Legal Solutions

**REDACTED** 

#### REDACTED

# REDACTED

# REDACTED

### REDACTED

2.1

Page 334 REDACTED Okay. How about a randomized control study of some kind, randomized controlled testing? We already have that. You think you already have that? Sure, through the ACS. REDACTED 2.1 

2.1

REDACTED

#### REDACTED

```
Page 337
            The initial impetus for putting the
1
2
     citizenship question on the 2020 census was not
     DOJ's idea; is that correct?
3
             That's correct.
4
            It was Secretary Ross's idea, I think
5
         0
     you've testified to that, correct?
6
            He was the one who asked me to
7
         A
8
    investigate it, yes.
            He told you sometime shortly after he was
9
10
     confirmed that he wanted the question on the 2020
11
    census, correct?
12
         A
             He asked me to explore putting it on,
13
     yes.
             Well, he actually said he requests the
14
     question be put on the census, correct?
15
             That was the way he phrased it, yes.
16
             You said you would make that happen,
17
         O
18
     correct?
19
         A
            I said I would do my best.
20
         O
             And you would get the citizenship
21
     question in place, I think was -- were your words?
22
         A
            I said I would work to get that in place.
```

# REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

**REDACTED** 

REDACTED

Page 339

#### REDACTED

Anyone at Commerce who was more involved

Page 341 in the citizenship question other than you during the period from the time you came to Commerce until the citizenship question issue was resolved? Probably not, no. REDACTED 2.1 

2.1

Page 342 REDACTED

## REDACTED

### REDACTED

2.1

REDACTED

Page 347 REDACTED Well, but prior to that, you had been directed by the Secretary of the Commerce to put the citizenship question on the census --

	Page 348
1	(A) (I'd)
2	Q isn't that correct?
3	A I'd been directed to explore putting a
4	citizenship question on the census.
5	Q He said he wanted it on the census,
6	correct?
7	That was certainly his expressed
8	interest.
9	[It was an expressed statement, was it]
10	not?
11	That's the way he phrased it. But,
12	again, he can't put something on the census
13	without having the legal authority or process in
14	place to do so.
15	
16	KEDAGIED
17	
18	
19	
21	
22	
2 2	

### REDACTED

#### REDACTED

Q But the Census Bureau, nevertheless, recommended from a standpoint of accurate and completeness and quality of the census that there should not be a citizenship question added to the census, as opposed to continuing to rely on ACS data supplemented by the administrative records?

A No. In the process of this memorandum, back and forth, they could not articulate a rationale to support their belief that there would

Page 351 be this decline in this response rate. Their 1 2 entire analysis relied on the assumption that there would be this decline in response rate of a 3 certain percentage and that that would, therefore, 4 make the data less reliable. 5 What they couldn't refute was the fact 6 7 that under their proposed approach, they would 8 have had to impute -- again, based on statistical 9 models -- the citizenship of 25 million voting age 10 citizens. That was not a complete and accurate 11 picture as far as the Secretary was concerned. So 12 the Secretary said this is why we need to look at combining the two approaches, B and C, to come up 13 with Alternative D. Because in the absence of 14 that, we don't have good enough data on which to 15 build the formula to impute those people that we 16 would have to because we don't have answers on 17 18 what their citizenship is. So that's the 19 rationale that's laid out in this memo, and as far 20 as I know, that's been the rationale that's been the Secretary's all along. 21 Q But not the rationale that was accepted 22

```
Page 352
1
     by the Census Bureau, which nevertheless, rejected
2
     as -- from a technical perspective, the
     Secretary's rationale; isn't that correct?
3
4
            I disagree that they rejected it from a
     technical perspective. They made some assumptions
5
     in making their recommendation -- and that's
6
     exactly what it is, it's a recommendation -- that
7
8
     this would be the case.
9
            Let me turn your attention to C30,
10
     Page 001314, which is Page 2 of the March 26th
11
     memo. And turning your attention to the Option A,
12
     the third line in the sentence that says,
13
     "Additionally, the block group levels CVAP data
     currently obtained through the ACS has associated
14
     margins of error" --
15
16
            Correct.
           -- "because the ACS is extrapolated based
17
         O
18
     on the sample servers of the population."
19
         A
            That's correct.
20
            Do you know what the margins of errors
21
     are that are referred to in this sentence?
22
         A
            I think you go on and see, you'll see it
```

```
Page 353
1
     described later in the same memo, which is that
2
     they have an error of approximately 30 percent, 28
    to 34, I believe, is the range.
3
4
            Yeah. If you look on Page 4,
     "Census Bureau analysis showed that between 28 and
5
     34 percent of citizenship self-responses for
6
     persons with administrative records show are
7
8
     noncitizen were inaccurate. In other words, when
9
     noncitizens respond to long form or ACS questions
10
     on citizenship, they inaccurately mark citizen
11
     about 30 percent of the time. However, the
12
     Census Bureau is still evolving its use of
13
     administrative records. The Bureau does not have"
    _ _
14
15
            (Thereupon, the court reporter)
    clarified.)
16
             THE WITNESS: This is in the -- under
17
    Option C of Page 4.
18
19
            MR. GARDNER: You're going to have to
20
    slow down for the court reporter.
21
             THE WITNESS: "So they inaccurately mark
22
    noncitizen about 30 percent of the time. However,
```

Page 354 1 the Census Bureau is still evolving its use of 2 administrative records, and the Bureau does not 3 yet have a complete administrative record set for the entire population. Thus, using administrative 4 5 records alone would provide DOJ data with CVAP data that was not a" -- "that would provide an 6 incomplete picture." 7 8 BY MR. ROSENBERG: 9 And that's your understanding of what 10 margins of error means as used on Page 01314? 11 Well, yes. They're referring to that --12 that margin of error they're referring to is the 13 28 to 34 percent they were off. 14 REDACTED 15 16 17 18 19 20 2.1 22

# REDACTED

2.1

### REDACTED

\_ \_

## REDACTED

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2.1

### REDACTED

### REDACTED

## REDACTED

# REDACTED

## REDACTED

### REDACTED

#### REDACTED

2.1

Page 368 REDACTED

1 REDACTED 2 3 Let me draw your attention to the period 4 around January 2018. Do you recall taking part in 5 the signing of the list of 35 questions to the 6 Census Bureau to answer? 7 Yes. I helped prepare that list. 8 A 9 O Do you -- who else helped prepare that

The Secretary, Karen Dunn Kelley,

James Uthmeier, myself. There may have been

others.

list?

10

11

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

Q Were you the prime drafter?

A Of that particular list, I may have been

the prime assembler. I was not necessarily the

prime drafter of all the questions.

And what was your purpose -- what was the

purpose in proposing those questions?

A Basically, it has -- I think it was

pointed out earlier we got an analysis from the

Census Bureau that seemed to have a particular

```
Page 370
1
     viewpoint, and it wasn't well supported in some
2
     cases. So those are the questions that arose
     after reviewing their memo.
3
             And when you -- after the questions were
4
         0
    formulated, whom did you send them to?
5
         A
             I believe they were sent to the
6
7
     Census Bureau.
            And the idea was the Census Bureau would
8
         0
9
     answer the questions; is that correct?
10
         A
             They would provide that input, yes.
11
        Q
            And you gave them a deadline, did you
12
    not?
13
             I imagine we did, yeah.
         A
             Four days; is that correct?
14
         0
            I don't recall.
15
         A
             Was it your understanding that the
16
     answers were going to be provided solely by the
17
     Census Bureau to those questions?
18
19
         A
            I believe all the questions were directed
20
     to the Census Bureau, but if they were directed to
21
     somebody else, then, obviously, they would provide
22
     them.
```

Page 371 1 But it was your understanding that the 2 Census Bureau would answer them; is that correct? Again, without going back and looking at 3 A 4 the documents and the accompanying emails, I can't tell you exactly who it was. But my understanding 5 was, yes, they were drafted for the Census Bureau. 6 Did there come a time when you reviewed 7 0 8 the answers for the questions? 9 A I imagine there was. 10 O Well, was there? 11 A Again, I know all of you are focused on 12 this case and everything else. This was one small 13 fraction of the work I was doing at that time. So I'm quite certain I reviewed the answers. Exactly 14 when, I can't tell you. But, clearly, they 15 went -- the responses to those questions were 16 considered in the decision memo. So I, obviously, 17 18 reviewed them at some point. 19 Do you recall whether you reviewed those 20 responses all at once or some kind of rolling 21 basis? 22 If memory serves, I believe the Census A

Page 372 responded back to some, and then provided 1 2 follow-up answers to others that took more time. Do you recall whether in connection with 3 4 any of the questions the Census Bureau was asked to change their answers to any questions? 5 I believe -- well, I believe in one case, 6 they provided a response that indicated that there 7 8 was a very set format for putting questions on the 9 census. And we went back to them and said, how 10 can that be? You haven't -- there hasn't been a 11 question added to the long form? They went back 12 and reviewed and said, yes, that's correct. This 13 was the process we used for the ACS. 14 REDACTED 15 16 17 18 19 20 2.1 22

Page 373 REDACTED Let's have this marked as -- one question on that. Turning our attention to Question 31 --Okay. -- is that the question you were referring to before as a question whose answer was 

Page 374 changed at some point? 1 Yeah. Because this was -- as I said, when we explored the question further, it became evident that this was not, in fact, an accurate representation for the process for the decennial. 6 REDACTED 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 2.1 22

Page 375

-

#### REDACTED

### REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

Veritext Legal Solutions

2.1

### REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

Page 380

Page 381

Page 382

## REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

#### REDACTED

# REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

Veritext Legal Solutions

2.1

## REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

# REDACTED

2.1

# REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

Page 391

Page 392

#### REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

### REDACTED

# REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

**REDACTED** 

### REDACTED

Page 397

Page 398

Page 399

2.1

Page 403

#### REDACTED

Q Have you spoken to anyone at

Department of Justice's voting rights section?

A Not to my knowledge.

So you were never referred to anyone or

you never inquired from anyone, a contact within

```
Page 410
1
     the voting rights section, to discuss this
2
    request --
            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Form.
3
4
     BY MS. SENTENO:
           -- for a citizenship question?
5
            MR. GARDNER: Sorry. Objection to form.
6
            THE WITNESS: No. Again, as I think we
7
8
     established in the earlier testimony, I was
9
    referred to Mary Blanche Hankey by someone in the
10
     Department of Commerce, by Eric Branstad, who I
11
     think got her name from a contract of his at the
12
     White House. She referred me to -- I'm already
13
     blanking on his name -- John McHenry. I did not
     investigate John McHenry's position in the
14
     department. I just took it on face value he would
15
    be the right person to talk to and those are the
16
17
    two people I spoke to at Department of Justice,
18
     so -- outside of litigation counsel, obviously.
19
     BY MS. SENTENO:
20
           You testified earlier in the memo that
21
    you drafted for the Secretary that stated that
22
    once you had been told by DHS that your request
```

Page 411 1 would be more appropriately handled by the 2 Department of Justice, you said that the interaction ceased; is that correct? 3 4 A Well --From you? 5 My efforts at that point to track down 6 A somebody ceased because they had run into a dead 7 8 end. I mean, our initial conclusion was that 9 Department of Justice was the right place to go. 10 They seemed occupied on other matters, so they 11 referred us to DHS. DHS referred us back, so now 12 I'm back to where I started. 13 So once you were referred back to DOJ, you didn't ask another follow-up as to who in the 14 voting section would be more appropriate to talk 15 about this particular issue? 16 Again, I was working on literally dozens 17 A of issues that consumed a lot of time. And so I 18 19 had put the time into it that I could afford to 20 put into it and had come up empty. So I reported 21 that to my boss, and basically, said if absent 22 some instruction from higher up, it appears that

the DOJ staff is not particularly interested in

expending resources on this right now.

## REDACTED

\_ `

Page 414

Page 416 REDACTED 1 2 BY MS. SENTENO: Okay. Are you aware of any VRA cases 3 that the Department of Justice declined to bring, 4 5 only because they needed block-level citizenship 6 data? I'm not aware of that, but I didn't research that either. 8 So no -- neither yourself or anyone else 9 10 at the Department of Commerce asked DOJ for this 11 information? 12 I did not. I can't say whether anybody 13 else did. 14 REDACTED 15 16 17 18 19 20 2.1 22

```
Page 418
1
            But the data suggests -- the data that
2
    the Census Bureau provided suggests that the
    break-off rate for noncitizens was higher with
3
4
    respect to a citizen question; is that correct?
            Higher than noncitizen?
5
6
        0
            Yes.
            Yes. That's true.
        A
            Okay. So if the same people who did not
8
    respond to the citizen question on the ACS also
9
10
    didn't respond to the short form of the decennial
11
    census, that would cause a drop in the total head
12
    count, correct?
            No. It would not.
13
         A
            Could you explain?
14
         0
            Secretary Ross placed the question at the
15
         A
     end of the census so they would be able to not
16
    answer that and still complete the census.
17
                                                 We
     also have administrative records and
18
19
    Secretary Ross directed we use administrative
20
    records, which we're actively doing for a variety
21
    of reasons, not just citizenship.
22
            So we have every confidence between the
```

Page 419 increased outreach that's planned, the additional 1 2 money and resources that are to be put into the advertising and other things, that we will more 3 than compensate -- in fact, our objection is to 4 have a complete and accurate count above and beyond the count that was done in 2010. 6 7 REDACTED 8 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 Sir, I'd like to talk about the time 21 period between the December 12th DOJ letter 22 requesting the citizenship question and before

```
Page 420
1
    Secretary Ross issued the March 26 memo --
2
    decision memo.
            I'm sorry. Could you tell me who you're
3
4
    with?
            Sure. My name is Gabrielle Boutin. I'm
5
    with the Attorney General's of the State of
6
    California, and I represent plaintiffs, the
7
    State of California -- excuse me -- State of
8
9
    California v. Ross in the Northern District of
10
    California.
11
        A
            Okay. Thank you.
12
            So during the time period between the
13
    December (12th DOJ) letter (and the issuance of
    Secretary Ross's March 26th memorandum, that's
14
    what we're talking about.
15
            I understand.
16
17
            Do you understand?
        O
            So far so good.
18
        A
19
        O
            Good.
20
            During that time period, did the
21
    Department of Commerce ever inform the
22
    Department of Justice that the Census Bureau
```

```
Page 421
1
    recommended using administrative records alone to
2
    meet Justice's December 12th request rather than
    adding the citizenship question to the census?
3
4
            I believe that was part of the purposes
    of the meeting they were seeking with the -- the
5
    Census Bureau was seeking with the
6
    Justice Department.
7
            Okay. My question is: Did the
8
         0
9
    Commerce Department ever inform DOJ that the
10
    Census Bureau recommended using administrative
11
    records alone to meet their requests, rather than
12
    adding a citizenship question to the census?
13
            Again, I'm not privy to all the
        A
14
    conversations with the Justice Department, so --
15
        O
            Do you --
            -- I was not --
16
17
        O
           -- know --
18
        A
            I was not involved in such a discussion,
19
    no.
20
        0
            Okay. But you were one of the primary
21
    people working on this at Commerce; isn't that
22
    right?
```

Page 422 1 Yes. Do you think you would have known if 2 someone from Commerce conveyed that information to 3 4 the Department of Justice? 5 MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for 6 speculation. BY MS. BOUTIN: Do you think it's likely you would have 8 known? 9 10 It's possible, yes. 11 REDACTED 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 Did Commerce ever transmit to 22 Department of Justice any of the Census Bureau's

```
Page 423
     memos that analyzed the options for providing to
1
2
     DOJ block-level citizenship data?
            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Lack of
3
4
     foundation.
            THE WITNESS: I would just note it's the
5
     Secretary of Commerce's decision as to whether
6
7
     this goes forward. His focus is on a complete and
8
     accurate count.
9
            And as explained earlier, the Option C
10
     alternative, which was to use the administrative
11
     records only, would have inquired us to impute --
12
     so, in other words, fill in the blanks -- for 25
     million voting age citizens. That was not
13
14
     something Secretary Ross was prepared to have the
15
     department do.
16
    BY MS. BOUTIN:
        Q Mr. Comstock, I understand that. Your
17
18
     counsel is -- wants us to limit the amount or time
19
     that we're here today, and the best way to do that
20
    is if you would answer my questions directly. So
    I'll ask you again.
21
22
            Did the Department of Justice ever --
```

```
Page 424
            Not to my knowledge.
1
2
        0
            Okay. Thank you.
             And again, we're talking about between
3
     December 12th and the March 26th.
4
        A
            Right.
5
            Did the Department of Commerce ever
6
        0
     inform DOJ that the Census Bureau believed that
7
8
     administrative records alone would be more
9
     complete -- would create more complete and
10
     accurate citizenship data than asking a
11
     citizenship question on the census and then
12
     combining the data from that question with
13
    administrative records?
14
             MR. GARDNER: Objection. Form.
     Objection. Lack of foundation.
15
16
    BY MS. BOUTIN:
            Do you want me to re-ask that question?
17
        O
18
        A
           Sure.
19
            Did the Department of Commerce ever
20
    inform Justice that the Census Bureau believes
21
    that admin -- using administrative records alone
22
    would provide more complete and accurate data than
```

Page 425 1 instead of doing that asking the citizenship 2 question on the census and then combining that with the use of administrative records? 3 4 MR. GARDNER: Same objection. THE WITNESS: Again, I think you 5 mischaracterize the Census Department's -- Census 6 Bureau's analysis. But, again, it's the 7 Secretary of Commerce's decision as to what to 8 9 make, and so he would only transmit to the 10 Justice Department what he considered that would 11 provide complete and accurate data. 12 BY MS. BOUTIN: 13 But the Commerce Department did inform the Department of Justice about that belief by the 14 15 Census Bureau? 16 MR. GARDNER: Same objections. 17 THE WITNESS: Again, not to my knowledge. 18 REDACTED 19 2.02.1 22

Page 427

5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |

15

16

17

18

19

20

2.1

22

1

Page 428

Page 429 REDACTED

Q It says, "Finally placing the question on

the decennial census and directing the

Census Bureau to determine the best means to

compare the decennial census responses with

administrative records will permit the

Page 430 1 Census Bureau to determine the inaccurate response 2 rate for citizens and noncitizens alike using the entire population. This will enable the 3 4 Census Bureau to establish, to the best of its ability, the accurate ratio of citizen to 5 6 noncitizen responses to impute for that small 7 percentage of cases where it is necessary to do 8 so." 9 A Yes. 10 So with respect to those two sentences 11 starting with the word finally, who wrote that 12 language? 13 I couldn't say for certain, but I likely had a hand in drafting that. 14 Okay. Can you explain, how does adding a 15 0 citizenship question to the census and determining 16 the incorrect response rate for citizens and 17 18 noncitizens help the Census Bureau impute with 19 respect to people who did not respond at all and 20 did not have administrative records? 21 A I mean, you could ask the Census Bureau 22 for a fuller explanation of imputation, but

Page 431 1 basically, they do a formula that looks at data 2 that they have. And so if they know for the people -- let's say 95 percent of the population 3 that they have accurate records for and which they 4 have responses for, if they discover that -- pick 5 6 a number -- it's now 10 percent of the people who 7 aren't citizens, are, in fact, noncitizens, then 8 they would probably apply that to 5 percent 9 remaining. So they would take whatever number of 10 people who are citizens, multiply that by that 5 11 percent, and then they would take the noncitizens 12 and say, okay, we now know the accurate count, based on the entire population of what we have, 13 14 there's a 10 percent error rate, 10 percent of the 15 people that might say they're citizens are noncitizens, so we're going to multiply that 16 17 number out. That's going to give you the most 18 accurate count that you can get. 19 O So what's your source of that 20 explanation? 21 A Based on the briefings. So you're saying that the Census Bureau 22 O

Page 432 supports this statement here? 1 2 This is the Secretary's statement. Whether the --But did the Census Bureau explain, say -- explanation you just offered me -- did 5 they -- did they explain it that way to you? 6 More or less, yeah. 8 REDACTED 9 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 2.1 22

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# REDACTED

Census Bureau, for believing in the scientific
empirical accuracy of these last two sentences of
this paragraph?

MR. GARDNER: Objection. Form.

THE WITNESS: Yes. My experience, my
knowledge and other people who also, including the
Secretary, who is a very smart man, who also came

So do you have any source, other than the

to a similar conclusion.

Page 434 BY MS. BOUTIN: 1 2 Do you believe you have more expertise in 3 the science of imputation than the experts at the Census Bureau? 4 5 I'm not going to get caught in making such a statement, but I'm perfectly capable of 6 looking at the analysis they provided and deciding 7 whether or not I agreed with that analysis. 8 What's your background in statistical 9 10 imputation? 11 A I --(Conference call interruption.) 12 13 BY MS. BOUTIN: 14 What is your background in statistical 15 imputation? 16 I don't have one. 17 REDACTED 18 19 20 2.1 22

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VIDEOGRAPHER: This concludes today's video deposition. The time on the video is 6:02 p.m. We are off the record.

(Whereupon, at 6:04 p.m., the deposition of EARL COMSTOCK was concluded.)
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#### CERTIFICATE OF REPORTER

I, KAREN LYNN JORGENSON, RPR, CSR, CCR the officer before whom the foregoing deposition was taken, do hereby certify that the witness whose testimony appears in the foregoing deposition was duly sworn by me; that the testimony of said witness was taken by me in stenotype and thereafter reduced to typewriting under my direction; that the said deposition is a true record of the testimony given by said witness; that I am neither counsel for, related to, nor employed by any of the parties to the action in which this deposition was taken; and further, that I am not a relative or employee of any counsel or attorney employed by the parties hereto, nor financially or otherwise interested in the outcome of this action. Karen Lyen Jorgenson

\_\_\_\_\_

20 KAREN LYNN JORGENSON, RPR, CCR, CSR

21 Dated this 3rd day

22 of September , 2018.

Page 438 ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF DEPONENT 1 I, EARL COMSTOCK, do hereby acknowledge I 2 have read and examined the foregoing pages of 3 testimony, and the same is a true, correct and 4 complete transcription of the testimony given by 5 me, and any changes or corrections, if any, appear 6 7 in the attached errata sheet signed by me. 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 Date EARL COMSTOCK 15 Joshua E. Gardner, Esquire 16 U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE 20 Massachusetts Avenue Washington, D.C. 20530 17 18 IN RE: New York Immigration Coalition, et al., v. United States Department of Commerce, et al. 19 20 21 22

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Dear Mr. Gardner:

Enclosed please find your copy of the deposition of EARL COMSTOCK, along with the original signature page. As agreed, you will be responsible for contacting the witness regarding signature.

Within 21 days of receipt of transcript, please forward errata sheet and original signed signature page to counsel for, John Freedman and all counsel of record.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to call. Thank you.

Yours,

Karen Lynn Jorgenson, RPR, CCR, CSR
Capital Reporting Company

## REDACTED

cc: All counsel of record

2.1

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3	al., v. United States Department of Commerce, et
4	al.,
5	Witness Name: EARL COMSTOCK
6	Deposition Date: Thursday, August 30, 2018
7	Page No. Line No. Change/Reason for Change
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19	Signature Date
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# Federal Rules of Civil Procedure Rule 30

- (e) Review By the Witness; Changes.
- (1) Review; Statement of Changes. On request by the deponent or a party before the deposition is completed, the deponent must be allowed 30 days after being notified by the officer that the transcript or recording is available in which:
- (A) to review the transcript or recording; and
- (B) if there are changes in form or substance, to sign a statement listing the changes and the reasons for making them.
- (2) Changes Indicated in the Officer's Certificate. The officer must note in the certificate prescribed by Rule 30(f)(1) whether a review was requested and, if so, must attach any changes the deponent makes during the 30-day period.

DISCLAIMER: THE FOREGOING FEDERAL PROCEDURE RULES

ARE PROVIDED FOR INFORMATIONAL PURPOSES ONLY.

THE ABOVE RULES ARE CURRENT AS OF SEPTEMBER 1,

2016. PLEASE REFER TO THE APPLICABLE FEDERAL RULES

OF CIVIL PROCEDURE FOR UP-TO-DATE INFORMATION.

## VERITEXT LEGAL SOLUTIONS COMPANY CERTIFICATE AND DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

Veritext Legal Solutions represents that the foregoing transcript is a true, correct and complete transcript of the colloquies, questions and answers as submitted by the court reporter. Veritext Legal Solutions further represents that the attached exhibits, if any, are true, correct and complete documents as submitted by the court reporter and/or attorneys in relation to this deposition and that the documents were processed in accordance with our litigation support and production standards.

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